NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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PRIME MINISTER MACMILLAN AND HIS CAMPAIGN MANAGER
Co-existence was the best slogan of the British elections.

LEFT-WINGERS RETAIN SEATS

Why the Tories swept the British elections; Labor future in doubt

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

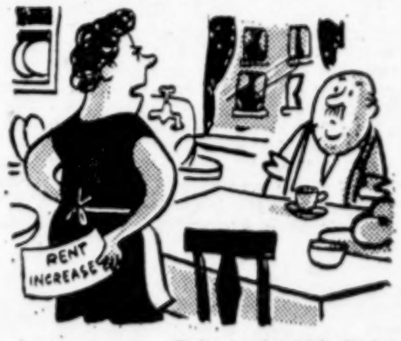
IN AN ELECTION notable for the minimal popular excitement it aroused, for the record number of "Don't Knows" in opinion-poll samplings, and for its high percentage of voters on polling day, Harold Macmillan's Tories have swept back into office for the third time—with almost double their previous parliamentary majority.

Although this political hat-trick has only once before (1905-10) been brought off by any British party, popular excitement on the morning after remained as minimal as before. Even down in the Stock Exchange there was nothing one could describe as political emotion.

Beaverbrook's **Sunday Express** had predicted "the greatest scenes of chaos ever witnessed" there if Labor won, but the lads in bowlers and striped pants had been so unworried that election eve saw a record day's trading.

The one outstanding post-electoral fact is the crisis of the Labor Party. During its five more years as a shrunken opposition it must face up to no less a problem than its very identity.

LOST SOUL: As the olympian **Times** pointed out just before polling day, "the world faces even greater potential dangers" than Britain did in 1940, yet both parties "dismally failed to rise to the challenges" of the hour: the people were offered a choice between two groups of "technicians, ring-masters and clever boys . . . playing upon cupidity and envy, jealousy and fear" with promises of more "television receivers, refrigerators and washing machines."



Eccles, London Daily Worker
"Remember how you always said you'd like to live in one of those expensive apartments?"

The **Times** could only give its blessing to the Tory machine with the qualifying hope "that they have worked their passage back from their disasters," and with the added hope that more years in the wilderness might "help the Labor Party to find the nation's soul."

As the disastrous results rolled in Oct. 9, the **New Statesman**—formerly left-socialist but a recent climber on the Gaitskell "bandwagon"—indicated how far the Labor hierarchy has been deluding itself. In an editorial written before the election it claimed "signal and significant success" for Labor's campaign no matter who won. The party had shown the electorate a "young, vigorous, forward-looking" face and that it "had a policy" and "had a leader." A "new army of party workers" had been "conjured out of the backwaters of indifference"; members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—the predominantly youthful "first and only militant mass-movement since the war"—had "rallied to the one party which still proclaims . . . it adherence to principle."

ALL WRONG: None of this has been borne out. Labor did its utmost to improve its machine and drew surprisingly good turnouts at meetings. Its TV programs were technically superior to the Tories'. It had the support of the **Observer** and Manchester **Guardian**—and the near-neutrality of the **Times**—in addition to the Labor press.

The top-circulation **Daily Mirror** did a brilliant, serious propaganda job for it,

(Continued on Page 4)

COLD WAR ON UNIONS HEATS UP

Strike injunction ends Ike's 'hands off' in labor disputes

By Robert E. Light

CAPT. E. P. AURAND climbed into a Navy A3D jet bomber at Patuxent Navy Base, Md., at 7 p.m. on Oct. 7; in his care was a portfolio marked for the attention of the President of the United States. At about 9 p.m., California time, Aurand landed his plane at Palm Springs airport and transferred to a waiting Marine Corps helicopter which carried him and his cargo 20 miles to La Quinta where President Eisenhower was vacationing.

In the portfolio was a report of a three-man board of inquiry which concluded that continuation of a six-day strike of 70,000 longshoremen in Atlantic and Gulf ports would "imperil the national health and safety." A few minutes after reading the report the President instructed Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers to seek a court injunction against the strikers. Thus the Taft-Hartley law's "cooling off" provision was invoked for the 16th time since its passage in 1947.

Mr. Eisenhower had set up the board on Oct. 6 and said it had five days to report. But the fact-finders needed only 1½ hours the next day to reach their conclusions. The unprecedented haste suggested private White House instructions.

EMBARRASSING HOST? The President was in less of a hurry to use the Taft-Hartley law against the steel strikers, although their walkout began on July 15. He waited until his return to Washing-

(Continued on Page 10)

AN AGE-OLD STORY: THE NEWEST MIGRANTS

The facts about the Puerto Ricans in N.Y.

By Louis E. Burnham

WHEN EIGHT MEMBERS of the Royal Knights, a Puerto Rican youth gang, were recently arraigned on a murder charge before Magistrate Vincent P. Rao in Bronx Adolescent Court, their parents wept. The judge scorned their tears: "I have no pity for you. Don't cry here. You deserve it. If you hadn't let your boys run wild in the streets they wouldn't be here. They're not just boys. They're bums, and they reflect their parents. Now all of you get out of here."

The get-tough policy, long demanded by some newspapers, was registering in the courts. Presumably the parents got out of there. It might not be possible to stop Puerto Rican immigration from the sun-soaked, poverty-stricken island in the Caribbean, as another figure, Kings County Judge Samuel S. Liebowitz, had proposed. But it was clear that many officials in New York and a disturbingly large section of the public were fastening on the Puerto Rican population as the embodiment of all evil in the city.

AN OLD STORY: The victimization of new migrants is not new in New York or in other parts of the nation. In Chicago at the turn of the century it was widely believed that Polish stockyard workers were dirty people who didn't like to take baths. The reason? They kept coal in their bath tubs.

Few bothered to note that the Polish workers lived in cold-water flats which provided no other place for the coal they needed for heat. Only with the publication of Upton Sinclair's expose, **The Jungle,** did it become clear to many that the super-exploitation of the Poles in the great packing plants caused—and demanded—their social degradation.

So, too, in New York. In successive and continuing migrations, Irish, Italians, Slavs, Jews, Negroes, and now Puerto Ricans, have come to do the city's hardest, dirtiest, meanest, lowest-paid

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THE MAIL BAG

That trait of ours

NEW YORK, N. Y.

At the luncheon given by our City to Mr. K, Ambassador Lodge told our guest "that one American national trait is that we relentlessly advertise our imperfections." He stated that we honestly admit that there is some discrimination in the South, "but there is no doubt at all that legal segregation will completely disappear."

While the rest of the world hailed without reservation the Soviet Moon Rocket as tremendous technical progress, some Americans were quite skeptical. Nixon had "no official proof yet." Truman said: "I never believe the Russians unless I can see it." Dr. York, director of research for the Defense Department: "It is easier to hit the moon than to hit New York from Moscow." (Nearly two years ago, Dr. Wernher von Braun testified before the U. S. Senate Preparedness Sub - Committee that he "could prove with a slide-rule that the Russians are able to land a ballistic missile with an H-bomb warhead anywhere in the world.") Dr. Zahl, director of research of the Army Signal Corps: "It seems as though we are lagging, but it is only because we have not been playing for headlines. The U.S. could have easily hit the moon with a space rocket five years ago if we had placed emphasis on such a project."

These are a few examples of our national trait to advertise relentlessly our imperfections.

John H. Beck

$estet

MONTROSE, COLO.

There's a hammer and sickle on the Moon—
Symbols of labor and social worth.
What will America's symbol be
If she ever reaches there from Earth?

I'll tell you—if she has such luck,
The symbol will be the sacred fast buck.

Pearl Cline

Sincerely yours

CHICAGO, ILL.

Philosopher Dunham was too metaphysical to be anything but obcurantist in his article for **New Times** (U.S.S.R.), as excerpted in the GUARDIAN (Aug. 31). What kind of an estimate of a situation is furnished by the information that "an American" is a delighter-in-sincerity? Of what lands are the citizenry to be differentiated as non-delighters-in-sincerity?

Evaded by Dunham is the decisive matter of the level and limitations of the people's ability to see through ruling-class hypocrisy and not "delight" in it as "sincerity." At present "an American" is still a person who believes that Truman and Nixon were "sincere" in what they did to the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, and that the latter were probably guilty. That "we" have been "sincerely" attempting to reach a fair and reasonable solution of Berlin, and that "they" have been "insincere" about it. Similarly that "we" have been "sincerely," and that "they" have not been'' "sincerely" working for the outlawry of the atom-bombs and hell-bombs.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

In at least one minor respect Khrushchev offered something new. He proposed the elimination of all military academies. For that reason alone his package would be unacceptable to a lot of Americans since it would result in the permanent cancellation of the Army-Navy football game.

—Editorial column,
The Daily Oklahoman,
Sept. 23

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anonymous, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Also "an American" of a certain 11 states (for it seems that there are somehow different species of "an American") is a delighter-in-the-"sincerity" of his legalistic circumvention of integration in the schools, and of "states'-rights."

God bless the King, I mean the faith's defender,
God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender,
But who pretender is, and who is king,
God bless us all, that's quite another thing.
(John Byrom, 18th cent.)

But perhaps the idea of metaphysician Dunham was simply that "an American," in "hoping for" sincerity, is no different from anybody else. In that case, it is valuable to notice that a fried egg is similar to a fiddle, because, as an old conundrum explains, neither one of them can climb a tree.

W. R.

Barrows Dunham comments: There is no sentence in W. R.'s letter which contradicts any sentence in my article, and consequently there is as yet no actual debate between us. Evidently the word "sincerity" triggered his hatred of what may be called the commercial use of that term. He is quite right to hate such hypocrisy.

Nevertheless I cannot think that ethics is much altered by the fact that capitalists abuse it. Sincerity, manifested in the correspondence of deeds with words, is a very persuasive virtue—though it is not, of course, the only virtue one needs.

There is a difference between argumentation for enlightenment and argumentation for release of feeling. With W. R. the release has been so intense, and withal so witty, that, though his anger is plain, his meaning is not. Is he saying that many of our fellow Americans hold erroneous political views? Well, as Brahms said when charged with taking a theme from Wagner, "Any ass can see that." Or is he saying that Americans will never vanquish these errors? I'll give him long odds on that one, for I hold it to be a certainty that they will.

It's time to leave the wailing wall and join the American people.

Spree

WHEATFIELD, IND.

Our system of increasing debts to keep going should correctly be called The Spree Enterprise System.

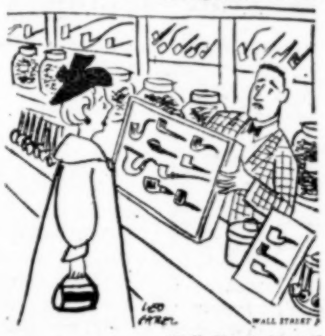
Clarence Speyer

Note to a teamster

SEATTLE, WASH.

Re pensions at 60: I advise Mr. Ben Smith to get in touch with the Townsend Plan Inc., 808 No. Capitol St., Washington 2, D.C. They have introduced a bill into Congress to amend the Social Security Act whereby all Americans will get Federal pensions at 60 of $140 a month. Nothing can be done this year but I am hopeful action will be taken next year, particularly if the powerful Teamsters Union were to help.

Margaret Welsh



Wall Street Journal
"Any shape will do. He uses it only for pointing."

Meany's motive

PORTLAND, O.

As a preface to what I am going to say, I will state that I am a natural born citizen of the United States of America, past 76 years of age, and have lived in the United States all of my life and have been a member in good standing of an AFL trade union for 47 years and have taken an active part in union affairs most of that time. During all of that time I have no recollection of ever having had a voice or vote in the election or elevation of George Meany, nor have I ever heard of any democratic processes which would place George Meany in the position which he now occupies, which would entitle him to be the spokesman for the union labor organizations in this country.

In all of my contacts with union members, never have I heard any one express themselves as approving or agreeing with his vicious and slanderous statements about the Russian statesmen and communism and it is my firm belief that the majority of the labor union members are not in accord with any of his expressed views on the cold war or other foreign policy questions. I believe his raving and ranting about communism is motivated by the knowledge that he as well as some of the other labor brass would not be permitted to extract from $25,000 to more than $50,000 a year from the pockets of the working people under a socialist or communist economy.

Chas. E. Woodward

Spirit of Christ

PAROWAN, UTAH

Rev. A. Theist, in his letter of Sept. 21, says that "Russians are atheists." The fact is there are thousands of Christians in Russia, also thousands of non-Christians there, who believe in different religious ideologies. Hence all religious faiths are equally protected by the law, as the Russian Constitution is for drastic separation of church and state, granting freedom of conscience to all peoples.

For this reason the Russian people are solidly united in support of their government, especially the Christian peoples, as they realize that it is established upon the first divine law laid down to man by Christ and acted upon by the apostles. After the revolution all people who live according to the law of common ownership have the spirit of Christ in their hearts.

Olive Carroll

Chain store daisies?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The reason why many of our labor leaders are so violently anti-socialist is that they certainly have more to lose than their chains. It is even conceivable that some are owners of chain-stores.

S. B.

Query

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.

Where can one buy about a half-dozen **Communist Manifestoes?**

Albert Muldavin

International Publishers, 381 Park Ave. So., New York 10, N.Y. 25c—Ed.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE PARADE OF PROFESSIONAL ANTI-COMMUNISTS, informers and FBI agents was over. The prosecution in the trial of the Communist leaders had rested. The longest Federal criminal trial in history was ended. The Government had presented the case as though it were dealing with a murder. Before the jury of four men and eight women retired, Judge Medina had told them they must acquit the defendants if only "lawful and peaceful reforms" had been advocated.

The question was whether Marxism, which they taught, does in fact "advocate" force and violence. The world saw it as a test of the political temperature in the U.S., which must live in a world already half-Marxist, or intensify the cold war at home and abroad.

The jury went out at 3:55 p.m. At 12:30 p.m. the next day they returned the verdict: "Guilty for all eleven."

—From the National Guardian, Oct. 17, 1949

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REPORT TO READERS

Volume 12, Number 1

THE GUARDIAN CAME INTO BEING eleven years ago this week with a founding policy statement (we didn't call it a "credo" because Norman Mailer had an article in the first issue called "A Credo for the Living"). We dedicated ourselves to the "continuation and development of the progressive tradition set in our time by Franklin D. Roosevelt" and proposed to furnish "the inheritors of Franklin D. Roosevelt's America an uninterrupted flow of facts to fight with in the continuing battle for a better world."

Three years of Cold War following FDR's death in 1945 had produced "a succession of manufactured crises and negations of people's rights and freedoms"; and since the policies responsible for this were not at issue between the Democratic and Republican candidates of 1948, we announced our support of the Progresssive Party led by Henry Wallace and Glenn Taylor. We argued that peace could be secured "only by seeking areas of agreement among nations, rather than seeking areas of disagreement."

As a general view of the domestic struggle ahead, we had this to say:

"We believe that the world's greatest productive machine has been created in America by the people of America, out of their own resources; that monopoly's grip on that machine threatens the security of farmer, small businessman and wage-earner alike, and that all these must combine to carry forward the greatest American political tradition—the battle against concentration of power.

"We believe that our country's resources should be used to create an abundant life for the people who developed them, with freedom and opportunity for all. We believe that the interests of property should never and nowhere be respected above the interests of people."

THE POSITIONS ADOPTED not only by our paper, but generally by progressive and radical Americans everywhere, were soon put to test. Within a year the Chinese people expelled Chiang Kai-shek and began to build a socialist soicety under Communist leadership. The new China was only months old when the forces of the new imperialism were at her throat under the pretext of carrying out a "police action" in Korea.

The U.S.S.R. had exploded its first atom bomb; and in the frenzy to implant the belief that only through spies could the socialist world make scientific advances, the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell were enmeshed in a ghastly mock trial which horrified the world.

It was not a time for faint hearts—and for refusing to join the faint-hearts in flight, the GUARDIAN's editor, Cedric Belfrage, was jailed and ultimately forced to choose deportation rather than stay in prison indefinitely for his nonconformity.

NOW, FOR ALL who joined in the struggles of '48 and after for peace based on world understanding, a time of satisfaction is here. For those who refused to join in the hue and cry against China and the Soviet Union; for those who fought for life and vindication for the Rosenbergs; for those who struck untold blows for individual liberty and human rights in our much-vaunted democracy—days of good reckoning are at hand.

We rejoice, and we know you do too, in the opportunities which we have earned by our struggles, to remove the threats to world survival implicit in the age of nuclear armament; to enter upon a phase of meaningful competition between social systems; to work for peaceful transition to a better life for humanity as a whole.

Such are our gratifications on entering our twelfth year. We look ahead to a new and better decade than the last. We rejoice that you will share it with us.

—THE GUARDIAN

A UNANIMOUS PRESS

Debate rages on Meany's jimcrow slur

GEORGE MEANY is known to be a hot-tempered man, not the kind to balance every pro and con in extemporaneous speech. So when the proceedings of the recent AFL-CIO convention were edited, all reference to the nether regions was omitted in his query to A. Philip Randolph: "Who the hell appointed you guardian of all the Negro members in America?" It was explained that Meany's choleric attack on the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters reflected no policy rift, but merely a difference in methods to be used in combating jimcrow in the labor movement.

Even Randolph's post-convention reaction was conciliatory. He felt that though he had lost in three votes on the issue of using compulsion to bring jimcrow internationals and locals into line with AFL-CIO stated policy, his side had increased its rank and file support. When it was suggested that the National Urban League, leading social service organization among Negroes, withdraw the "Man of the Year" award it had planned to tender Meany, he demurred.

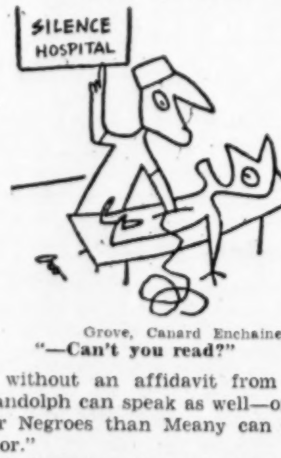
"Meany's explosive, emotional remarks had no racial significance," he said. "That's just the kind of person he is. Sometimes he blows his top."

HOT REACTIONS: But Meany's outburst had opened a gaping wound in the informal alliance between labor and Negroes and it seemed clear that no amount of soft soap would heal it. The Negro press, with a unanimity usually present only in response to crimes like lynchings, was also blowing its top.

The New York **Amsterdam News** warned that "if Mr. Meany is interested at all in what Negroes are thinking about his union, he had better damned sight listen to what Mr. A. Philip Randolph has to say," and added: "In the final analysis George Meany is a white man who thinks first of himself and his white brothers."

Pittsburg **Courier** columnist Nadine Brown noted that "a fight to the finish on the race bias question is threatened at this point." And the paper's editor, P. L. Prattis, pointing out that Meany "grew up" in the jimcrow plumbers union, asserted: "A. Philip Randolph could not carry a monkey wrench to a smoke-filled room of plumbers."

NO TEMPERING: In Cleveland, the **Call and Post stated:** "The time has come when a Negro can speak for his people without an affidavit from anyone. Randolph can speak as well—or better—for Negroes than Meany can speak for labor."



Grove, Canard Enchaine, Paris

"—Can't you read?"

Efforts to temper the acrimonious tone of the debate were immediately unavailing. Because of its projected award to Meany, the Urban League had a special stake in such efforts. On Oct. 1 the League board of directors met in special session and, over the heated objections of two Negro members who are staff officials of CIO unions, voted to let the award stand.

Lester Granger, exec. sec. of the League, explained the decision in a syndicated column. The board's action, he said, was based on two reasons: (1) that "the Meany record over the past half-dozen years has been one of consistent, strong leadership in the struggle to eliminate racial discrimination within the labor movement," and (2) the difference between Meany and Randolph was "a matter of strategy, not of principle."

INSULT TO INJURY: Granger said he knew the League would draw criticism for this position, and he was right. The same issue of the **Amsterdam News** which carried Granger's column offered the editorial judgment that "giving George Meany a civil rights award is simply adding injury to the insult which Meany gave Mr. Randolph, and adding insult to the injury which Meany has already brought to the Negro trade unionists."

At the heart of the argument were wide differences about questions of principle in the fight against jimcrow. For the AFL-CIO brass and Urban League officials, once the principle of non-discrimination is established by resolution, contradictory views on carrying it out are tolerable. But Negro unionists, and the major sections of Negro leadership, have long since moved beyond that position.

For them, timing has become the question of principle. Experience in the school integration fight has taught them that if it were done it had better be done quickly or it may not be done at all. Randolph pointed out that "time is important to Negroes in labor" because automation is wiping out unskilled jobs and Negroes, barred from "white" lines of job progression, are being dumped out of the labor market. They see speedy action as the key to their economic survival.

MORAL JUDGMENT: On the other hand, the AFL-CIO attitude was summed up by Loren Miller in the **California Eagle** as one which "reflects American thinking on racial discrimination and segregation, which are looked upon in much the same manner as you and I view violation of traffic laws. We wish the violator would mend his ways but we wouldn't vote to expel him from a union or from his church because of his minor errors. We visit no moral judgments on him."

It seems clear that if there is to be an early accord on this question, the labor movement will have to change its view. The Negro workers will not—in their own self-interests, cannot. Realizing this, Randolph has accepted leadership of a new organization of Negro workers, designed to unify and heighten their struggle for equality in the shops and in the unions. The steering committee of the National Negro Labor Council will meet in Cleveland on Nov. 14 and issue a call to 1,500,000 Negro AFL-CIO unionists for a founding convention in Detroit next April.

THE SILENT ONES: Regional planning bodies have been set up or are forming throughout the country and they are insisting on new yardsticks in determining who are the Negroes' friends in the labor movement. This was reflected in a letter to Meany from the Detroit Trade Union Leadership Council. The letter pointed out that at the California convention debate, "all the delegates from the so-called 'progressive unions' who have such a good public posture on civil rights and fair practices were conspicuous by their stony silence."

And it was underscored by an editorial statement in the **Carolina Times:** "Whether President Meany knows it or not, any Negro leader who does not take the stand taken by Randolph may as well 'turn in his uniform' because the minute it becomes known among the rank and file of his race that he refuses to stand up and be counted his days of leadership are over."

"A HOUSE TO LIVE IN . . ."

Water from a nearby stream was all this Pickens, Miss., resident had to fight the blaze ravaging her shack.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND

80-mile jimcrow trip for N.C. school kids protested

DISCRIMINATION AGINST Negro children in two North Carolina school districts has drawn the fire of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The North Carolina Friends of SCEF, meeting in Raleigh on Oct. 5, expressed shock that 28 Negro youngsters in Yancey County had been transported on an 80-mile round-trip daily over a curving mountain road to attend a jimcrow school in an adjoining county.

This arrangement had been made by Yancey County officials in order to avoid integrating county schools after a school maintained for Negroes had been condemned and closed. The school board rejected a petition of the Negro children for admission to white schools. Though they made the 40-mile trip to Asheville last year, the Negro youngsters have refused the out-of-county accomodation thus far in the new school term. They are, therefore, denied any public instruction.

The SCEF Friends urged that protests be sent to Gov. Luther Hodges, the State Board of Education at Raleigh, and to J. L. Robinson, chairman of the Yancey County Board of Education, Burnsville, N. C. Similar protests were proposed in regard to the situation at Apex, N. C., where Negro children are transported 18 miles to school and 18 miles back home to avoid integration.

DEFEND HIGHLANDER: Support for H. R. 7957, a bill to establish a Federal Voter Registration Commission, was also voted at the SCEF meeting. The commission would be empowered to register prospective voters wherever local officials refused to do so because of race, religion, color or national origin.

The group also scored Tennessee officials' attempts to padlock permanently the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle as "a threat to human decency and total freedom everywhere."

Another Southwide organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., also deplored the attacks on Highlander and its educational director, Mrs. Septima Clark. Meeting in Columbia, S. C., on Sept. 29-30 and Oct. 1, the SCLC took these additional actions: (1) empowered Rev. King to join with others to see that "the burning demands" of the Negro people be placed squarely and dramatically before the 1960 political conventions; (2) urged immediate Federal action to restore public education in Prince Edward County, Va., where public schools have been closed in face of a Federal court desegregation order; (3) declared that token admission of a few Negroes to white schools is "only the beginning and not the end" of the fight for integration, and (4) reaffirmed its devotion to "the principle of social change through non-violent action."

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

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—Editorial column,
The Daily Oklahoman,
Sept. 23

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anonymous, Oklahoma City, Okla.

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That trait of ours

NEW YORK, N. Y.

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John H. Beck

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MONTROSE, COLO.

There's a hammer and sickle
on the Moon—
Symbols of labor and social
worth.
What will America's symbol be
If she ever reaches there
from Earth?

I'll tell you—if she has such
luck,
The symbol will be the sacred
fast buck.

Pearl Cline

Sincerely yours

CHICAGO, ILL.

Philosopher Dunham was too metaphysical to be anything but obcurantist in his article for **New Times** (U.S.S.R.), as excerpted in the GUARDIAN (Aug. 31). What kind of an estimate of a situation is furnished by the information that "an American" is a delighter-in-sincerity? Of what lands are the citizenry to be differentiated as non-delighters-in-sincerity?

Evaded by Dunham is the decisive matter of the level and limitations of the people's ability to see through ruling-class hypocrisy and not "delight" in it as "sincerity." At present "an American" is still a person who believes that Truman and Nixon were "sincere" in what they did to the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, and that the latter were probably guilty. That "we" have been "sincerely" attempting to reach a fair and reasonable solution of Berlin, and that "they" have been "insincere" about it. Similarly that "we" have been "sincerely," and that "they" have not been'' "sincerely" working for the outlawry of the atom-bombs and hell-bombs.

Also "an American" of a certain 11 states (for it seems that there are somehow different species of "an American") is a delighter-in-the-"sincerity" of his legalistic circumvention of integration in the schools, and of "states'-rights."

God bless the King, I mean the
faith's defender,
God bless—no harm in blessing
—the Pretender,
But who pretender is, and who is
king,
God bless us all, that's quite
another thing.
(John Byrom, 18th cent.)

But perhaps the idea of metaphysician Dunham was simply that "an American," in "hoping for" sincerity, is no different from anybody else. In that case, it is valuable to notice that a fried egg is similar to a fiddle, because, as an old conundrum explains, neither one of them can climb a tree.

W. R.

Barrows Dunham comments: There is no sentence in W. R.'s letter which contradicts any sentence in my article, and consequently there is as yet no actual debate between us. Evidently the word "sincerity" triggered his hatred of what may be called the commercial use of that term. He is quite right to hate such hypocrisy.

Nevertheless I cannot think that ethics is much altered by the fact that capitalists abuse it. Sincerity, manifested in the correspondence of deeds with words, is a very persuasive virtue—though it is not, of course, the only virtue one needs.

There is a difference between argumentation for enlightenment and argumentation for release of feeling. With W. R. the release has been so intense, and withal so witty, that, though his anger is plain, his meaning is not. Is he saying that many of our fellow Americans hold erroneous political views? Well, as Brahms said when charged with taking a theme from Wagner, "Any ass can see that." Or is he saying that Americans will never vanquish these errors? I'll give him long odds on that one, for I hold it to be a certainty that they will.

It's time to leave the wailing wall and join the American people.

Spree

WHEATFIELD, IND.

Our system of increasing debts to keep going should correctly be called The Spree Enterprise System.

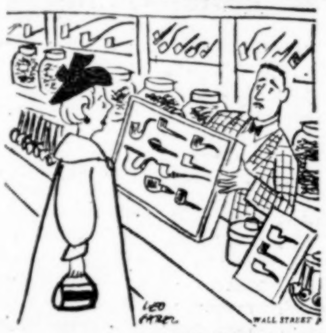
Clarence Speyer

Note to a teamster

SEATTLE, WASH.

Re pensions at 60: I advise Mr. Ben Smith to get in touch with the Townsend Plan Inc., 808 No. Capitol St., Washington 2, D.C. They have introduced a bill into Congress to amend the Social Security Act whereby all Americans will get Federal pensions at 60 of $140 a month. Nothing can be done this year but I am hopeful action will be taken next year, particularly if the powerful Teamsters Union were to help.

Margaret Welsh



Wall Street Journal
"Any shape will do. He uses it only for pointing."

Meany's motive

PORTLAND, O.

As a preface to what I am going to say, I will state that I am a natural born citizen of the United States of America, past 76 years of age, and have lived in the United States all of my life and have been a member in good standing of an AFL trade union for 47 years and have taken an active part in union affairs most of that time. During all of that time I have no recollection of ever having had a voice or vote in the election or elevation of George Meany, nor have I ever heard of any democratic processes which would place George Meany in the position which he now occupies, which would entitle him to be the spokesman for the union labor organizations in this country.

In all of my contacts with union members, never have I heard any one express themselves as approving or agreeing with his vicious and slanderous statements about the Russian statesmen and communism and it is my firm belief that the majority of the labor union members are not in accord with any of his expressed views on the cold war or other foreign policy questions. I believe his raving and ranting about communism is motivated by the knowledge that he as well as some of the other labor brass would not be permitted to extract from $25,000 to more than $50,000 a year from the pockets of the working people under a socialist or communist economy.

Chas. E. Woodward

Spirit of Christ

PAROWAN, UTAH

Rev. A. Theist, in his letter of Sept. 21, says that "Russians are atheists." The fact is there are thousands of Christians in Russia, also thousands of non-Christians there, who believe in different religious ideologies. Hence all religious faiths are equally protected by the law, as the Russian Constitution is for drastic separation of church and state, granting freedom of conscience to all peoples.

For this reason the Russian people are solidly united in support of their government, especially the Christian peoples, as they realize that it is established upon the first divine law laid down to man by Christ and acted upon by the apostles. After the revolution all people who live according to the law of common ownership have the spirit of Christ in their hearts.

Olive Carroll

Chain store daisies?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The reason why many of our labor leaders are so violently anti-socialist is that they certainly have more to lose than their chains. It is even conceivable that some are owners of chain-stores.

S. B.

Query

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.

Where can one buy about a half-dozen **Communist Manifestoes?**

Albert Muldavin

International Publishers, 381 Park Ave. So., New York 10, N.Y. 25c—Ed.

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the progressive newsweekly

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Vol. 12, No. 1 401 October 19, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

Volume 12, Number 1

THE GUARDIAN CAME INTO BEING eleven years ago this week with a founding policy statement (we didn't call it a "credo" because Norman Mailer had an article in the first issue called "A Credo for the Living"). We dedicated ourselves to the "continuation and development of the progressive tradition set in our time by Franklin D. Roosevelt" and proposed to furnish "the inheritors of Franklin D. Roosevelt's America an uninterrupted flow of facts to fight with in the continuing battle for a better world."

Three years of Cold War following FDR's death in 1945 had produced "a succession of manufactured crises and negations of people's rights and freedoms"; and since the policies responsible for this were not at issue between the Democratic and Republican candidates of 1948, we announced our support of the Progresssive Party led by Henry Wallace and Glenn Taylor. We argued that peace could be secured "only by seeking areas of agreement among nations, rather than seeking areas of disagreement."

As a general view of the domestic struggle ahead, we had this to say:

"We believe that the world's greatest productive machine has been created in America by the people of America, out of their own resources; that monopoly's grip on that machine threatens the security of farmer, small businessman and wage-earner alike, and that all these must combine to carry forward the greatest American political tradition—the battle against concentration of power.

"We believe that our country's resources should be used to create an abundant life for the people who developed them, with freedom and opportunity for all. We believe that the interests of property should never and nowhere be respected above the interests of people."

THE POSITIONS ADOPTED not only by our paper, but generally by progressive and radical Americans everywhere, were soon put to test. Within a year the Chinese people expelled Chiang Kai-shek and began to build a socialist soicety under Communist leadership. The new China was only months old when the forces of the new imperialism were at her throat under the pretext of carrying out a "police action" in Korea.

The U.S.S.R. had exploded its first atom bomb; and in the frenzy to implant the belief that only through spies could the socialist world make scientific advances, the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell were enmeshed in a ghastly mock trial which horrified the world.

It was not a time for faint hearts—and for refusing to join the faint-hearts in flight, the GUARDIAN's editor, Cedric Belfrage, was jailed and ultimately forced to choose deportation rather than stay in prison indefinitely for his nonconformity.

NOW, FOR ALL who joined in the struggles of '48 and after for peace based on world understanding, a time of satisfaction is here. For those who refused to join in the hue and cry against China and the Soviet Union; for those who fought for life and vindication for the Rosenbergs; for those who struck untold blows for individual liberty and human rights in our much-vaunted democracy—days of good reckoning are at hand.

We rejoice, and we know you do too, in the opportunities which we have earned by our struggles, to remove the threats to world survival implicit in the age of nuclear armament; to enter upon a phase of meaningful competition between social systems; to work for peaceful transition to a better life for humanity as a whole.

Such are our gratifications on entering our twelfth year. We look ahead to a new and better decade than the last. We rejoice that you will share it with us.

—THE GUARDIAN

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE PARADE OF PROFESSIONAL ANTI-COMMUNISTS, informers and FBI agents was over. The prosecution in the trial of the Communist leaders had rested. The longest Federal criminal trial in history was ended. The Government had presented the case as though it were dealing with a murder. Before the jury of four men and eight women retired, Judge Medina had told them they must acquit the defendants if only "lawful and peaceful reforms" had been advocated.

The question was whether Marxism, which they taught, does in fact "advocate" force and violence. The world saw it as a test of the political temperature in the U.S., which must live in a world already half-Marxist, or intensify the cold war at home and abroad.

The jury went out at 3:55 p.m. At 12:30 p.m. the next day they returned the verdict: "Guilty for all eleven."

—From the National Guardian, Oct. 17, 1949

A UNANIMOUS PRESS

Debate rages on Meany's jimcrow slur

GEORGE MEANY is known to be a hot-tempered man, not the kind to balance every pro and con in extemporaneous speech. So when the proceedings of the recent AFL-CIO convention were edited, all reference to the nether regions was omitted in his query to A. Philip Randolph: "Who the hell appointed you guardian of all the Negro members in America?" It was explained that Meany's choleric attack on the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters reflected no policy rift, but merely a difference in methods to be used in combating jimcrow in the labor movement.

Even Randolph's post-convention reaction was conciliatory. He felt that though he had lost in three votes on the issue of using compulsion to bring jimcrow internationals and locals into line with AFL-CIO stated policy, his side had increased its rank and file support. When it was suggested that the National Urban League, leading social service organization among Negroes, withdraw the "Man of the Year" award it had planned to tender Meany, he demurred.

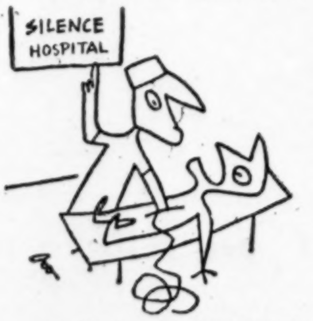
"Meany's explosive, emotional remarks had no racial significance," he said. "That's just the kind of person he is. Sometimes he blows his top."

HOT REACTIONS: But Meany's outburst had opened a gaping wound in the informal alliance between labor and Negroes and it seemed clear that no amount of soft soap would heal it. The Negro press, with a unanimity usually present only in response to crimes like lynchings, was also blowing its top.

The New York **Amsterdam News** warned that "if Mr. Meany is interested at all in what Negroes are thinking about his union, he had better damned sight listen to what Mr. A. Philip Randolph has to say," and added: "In the final analysis George Meany is a white man who thinks first of himself and his white brothers."

Pittsburg **Courier** columnist Nadine Brown noted that "a fight to the finish on the race bias question is threatened at this point." And the paper's editor, P. L. Prattis, pointing out that Meany "grew up" in the jimcrow plumbers union, asserted: "A. Philip Randolph could not carry a monkey wrench to a smoke-filled room of plumbers."

NO TEMPERING: In Cleveland, the **Call and Post stated:** "The time has come when a Negro can speak for his people without an affidavit from anyone. Randolph can speak as well—or better—for Negroes than Meany can speak for labor."



Grove, Canard Enchaine, Paris
"—Can't you read?"

Efforts to temper the acrimonious tone of the debate were immediately unavailing. Because of its projected award to Meany, the Urban League had a special stake in such efforts. On Oct. 1 the League board of directors met in special session and, over the heated objections of two Negro members who are staff officials of CIO unions, voted to let the award stand.

Lester Granger, exec. sec. of the League, explained the decision in a syndicated column. The board's action, he said, was based on two reasons: (1) that "the Meany record over the past half-dozen years has been one of consistent, strong leadership in the struggle to eliminate racial discrimination within the labor movement," and (2) the difference between Meany and Randolph was "a matter of strategy, not of principle."

INSULT TO INJURY: Granger said he knew the League would draw criticism for this position, and he was right. The same issue of the **Amsterdam News** which carried Granger's column offered the editorial judgment that "giving George Meany a civil rights award is simply adding injury to the insult which Meany gave Mr. Randolph, and adding insult to the injury which Meany has already brought to the Negro trade unionists."

At the heart of the argument were wide differences about questions of principle in the fight against jimcrow. For the AFL-CIO brass and Urban League officials, once the principle of non-discrimination is established by resolution, contradictory views on carrying it out are tolerable. But Negro unionists, and the major sections of Negro leadership, have long since moved beyond that position.

For them, timing has become the question of principle. Experience in the school integration fight has taught them that if it were done it had better be done quickly or it may not be done at all. Randolph pointed out that "time is important to Negroes in labor" because automation is wiping out unskilled jobs and Negroes, barred from "white" lines of job progression, are being dumped out of the labor market. They see speedy action as the key to their economic survival.

MORAL JUDGMENT: On the other hand, the AFL-CIO attitude was summed up by Loren Miller in the **California Eagle** as one which "reflects American thinking on racial discrimination and segregation, which are looked upon in much the same manner as you and I view violation of traffic laws. We wish the violator would mend his ways but we wouldn't vote to expel him from a union or from his church because of his minor errors. We visit no moral judgments on him."

It seems clear that if there is to be an early accord on this question, the labor movement will have to change its view. The Negro workers will not—in their own self-interests, cannot. Realizing this, Randolph has accepted leadership of a new organization of Negro workers, designed to unify and heighten their struggle for equality in the shops and in the unions. The steering committee of the National Negro Labor Council will meet in Cleveland on Nov. 14 and issue a call to 1,500,000 Negro AFL-CIO unionists for a founding convention in Detroit next April.

THE SILENT ONES: Regional planning bodies have been set up or are forming throughout the country and they are insisting on new yardsticks in determining who are the Negroes' friends in the labor movement. This was reflected in a letter to Meany from the Detroit Trade Union Leadership Council. The letter pointed out that at the California convention debate, "all the delegates from the so-called 'progressive unions' who have such a good public posture on civil rights and fair practices were conspicuous by their stony silence."

And it was underscored by an editorial statement in the **Carolina Times:** "Whether President Meany knows it or not, any Negro leader who does not take the stand taken by Randolph may as well 'turn in his uniform' because the minute it becomes known among the rank and file of his race that he refuses to stand up and be counted his days of leadership are over."

"A HOUSE TO LIVE IN . . ."
Water from a nearby stream was all this Pickens, Miss., resident had to fight the blaze ravaging her shack.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND

80-mile jimcrow trip for N.C. school kids protested

DISCRIMINATION AGINST Negro children in two North Carolina school districts has drawn the fire of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The North Carolina Friends of SCEF, meeting in Raleigh on Oct. 5, expressed shock that 28 Negro youngsters in Yancey County had been transported on an 80-mile round-trip daily over a curving mountain road to attend a jimcrow school in an adjoining county.

This arrangement had been made by Yancey County officials in order to avoid integrating county schools after a school maintained for Negroes had been condemned and closed. The school board rejected a petition of the Negro children for admission to white schools. Though they made the 40-mile trip to Asheville last year, the Negro youngsters have refused the out-of-county accomodation thus far in the new school term. They are, therefore, denied any public instruction.

The SCEF Friends urged that protests be sent to Gov. Luther Hodges, the State Board of Education at Raleigh, and to J. L. Robinson, chairman of the Yancey County Board of Education, Burnsville, N. C. Similar protests were proposed in regard to the situation at Apex, N. C., where Negro children are transported 18 miles to school and 18 miles back home to avoid integration.

DEFEND HIGHLANDER: Support for H. R. 7957, a bill to establish a Federal Voter Registration Commission, was also voted at the SCEF meeting. The commission would be empowered to register prospective voters wherever local officials refused to do so because of race, religion, color or national origin.

The group also scored Tennessee officials' attempts to padlock permanently the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle as "a threat to human decency and total freedom everywhere."

Another Southwide organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., also deplored the attacks on Highlander and its educational director, Mrs. Septima Clark. Meeting in Columbia, S. C., on Sept. 29-30 and Oct. 1, the SCLC took these additional actions: (1) empowered Rev. King to join with others to see that "the burning demands" of the Negro people be placed squarely and dramatically before the 1960 political conventions; (2) urged immediate Federal action to restore public education in Prince Edward County, Va., where public schools have been closed in face of a Federal court desegregation order; (3) declared that token admission of a few Negroes to white schools is "only the beginning and not the end" of the fight for integration, and (4) reaffirmed its devotion to "the principle of social change through non-violent action."

PRISON FOR BOTH

No review for Uphaus & Barenblatt

THE SUPREME COURT on Oct. 12 refused to review two decisions handed down last June 8 in the cases of Lloyd Barenblatt, a former instructor at Vassar College, and Willard Uphaus, director of World Fellowship.

The refusal means that each must begin to serve a prison sentence—Barenblatt a term of six months, and Uphaus an indeterminate sentence.

Barenblatt invoked the First Amendment in refusing to discuss his political associations before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Uphaus refused to turn over to the Attorney General of New Hampshire a list of guests who came to the World Fellowship camp there, and was convicted of contempt.

The cases were among the most vital in the field of civil liberties in recent years. Up to 30 cases hinged on the Barenblatt decision. On hearing the news both Barenblatt and Uphaus issued statements.

BARENBLATT COMMENT: Following is the Barenblatt statement:

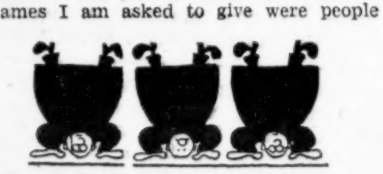
"As it now stands, ours is the only democracy with openly legalized government bodies which extract information under duress from people as to their beliefs and political associations, requiring them also to inform on others.

"There are about 30 other Americans now in the courts who, on the basis of conscience and the First Amendment, are risking jail in refusing to inform or to have their beliefs held to account.

"Perhaps these cases will focus continuing attention on the issues involved. I am hopeful that our democratic system will lead to a restoration of the First Amendment as it applies to the powers of legislative investigating committees."

UPHAUS STATEMENT: In Conway, N.H., Uphaus said:

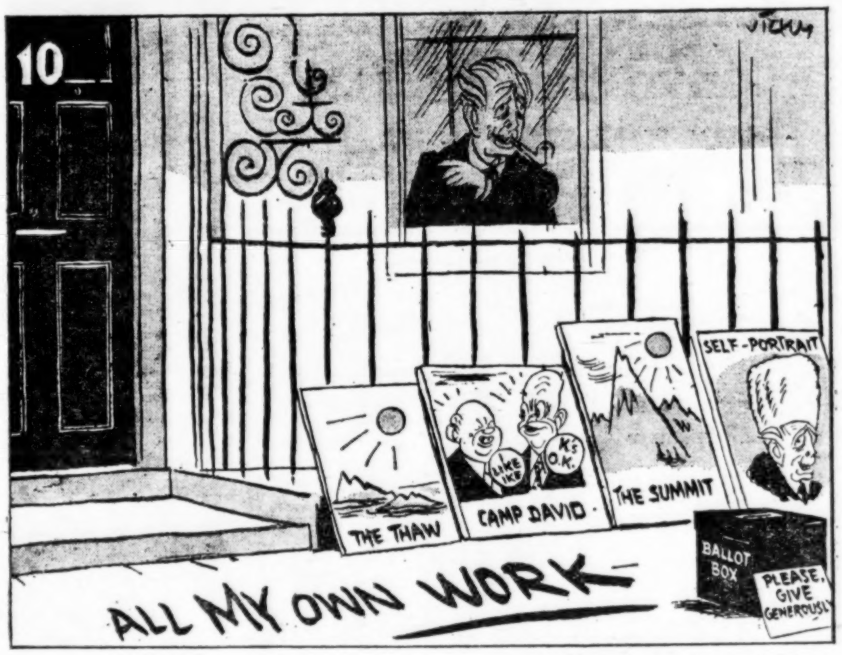
'The refusal of the Supreme Court to hear my case in no way changes the fact that it is morally wrong to subject innocent people to suspicion, possible harassment and public scorn. Those whose names I am asked to give were people who came to the World Fellowship Center in Conway, simply to enjoy a vacation and to work for peace.



"In refusing to give the names of innocent persons to an official inquisitor I take my stand not only on my own conscience, but on the age-old teaching of the Bible and church throughout the ages, that it is wrong to bear false witness. World Fellowship throughout has upheld the New Hampshire Bill of Rights and the First Amendment to the United States Constitution by holding peaceful assemblies to discuss questions of social justice and world peace.

"The decision in this case emphasizes the danger to these rights from inquisitorial investigators by officials and committees of government. If the attorney general and the courts of New Hampshire refuse to disown their action against me I shall have to take the consequences. In my case this may mean a life sentence.

"It is hard to believe the people of the state will permit this destruction of their precious Bill of Rights which so emphatically upholds the rights of conscience and freedom of association."



Vicky, London Evening Standard

British elections

(Continued from Page 1)

while its rival **Daily Sketch** based its Tory appeal on a scare-headlined "secret Labor plot" to kill commercial TV "and all leg shows." Labor was convinced that a high poll would favor it, yet it lost 28 and won only 5 seats and most of its wins were by reduced majorities.

At London polling stations the impression was that more traditional Laborites than Tories did not trouble to vote, and that the "unknown quantities"—who evidently favored the Tories—were mostly young people. One cynical Laborite commented: "We could hardly have done worse if we had been socialist." Said a loyal party worker weary from lack of sleep: "The fact is an improved machine is not the answer. Labor can't be Tory as well as the Tories can, and our party must either improve its policy or cease to exist." (The Liberals, who increased their vote, described the Labor Party on the morning after as "out of date" and predicted that they would ere long become Her Majesty's Opposition).

PEACE ISSUE: With regard to nuclear disarmament, the heart of the peace movement here, no clear pattern was observable in the results: no Labor candidate could fight on this issue against the party line, although some went on record as "personally" favoring it. Michael Foot, strongly pro- CND editor of the "anti-Communist Left" **Tribune**, failed to win the Devonport seat he once held; leftish Ian Mikardo, **Tribune** contributor and next year's party chairman, lost Reading; and Mrs. Lena Jeger, who was one of the more progressive Labor MP's, was nosed out in St. Pancras, London.

On the other hand, such staunch progressives and non-equivocators on the problems of peace as Frank Allaun, Will Griffiths, Barbara Castle, Harold and S. O. Davies, Sydney and Julius Silverman, Konni Zilliacus, John Baird, Stephen Swingler, Emrys Hughes, Dr. Barnet Stross and Fenner Brockway held their seats with increased majorities in most cases.

Lancashire reversed the national trend with a 2% swing to Labor: this was largely due to fears of unemployment in the cotton industry, but it is also an area with an exceptional concentration of Left-tending Labor MP's. Zilliacus (Gorton, Manchester), who was viciously red-baited but fought without compromise on a platform of "socialism and peace, for which I've always fought," told the GUARDIAN a few hours after Gaitskell conceded Party defeat:

"On the positive side it's too early to analyze accurately. On the negative side the results show that the whole concept of socialism as a kind of ersatz liberalism has no future. We have got to ditch all the phony solutions in this age of nuclear weapons and ideological conflict. We can't possibly harness a highly developed industrial society constructively without big changes in property relations. A capitalist economy can only waste our resources in war preparations induced by fear and hatred of socialism. The job confronting us is to show they can be harnessed both to higher living standards and peace, and we have to learn from the achievements of communist societies and develop relations with them on the basis of the UN charter. All this can't be improvized but with deep, honest re-thinking in the next five years the Labor Party can be made into a socialist party."

TOTAL CONFUSION: Labor Party secy. Morgan Phillips attributed the Tory success to their "successful exploitation of the financial angle, because of the cost of Labor's program." This may be correct as far as the issues raised were concerned: with no plans either to cut armaments or significantly increase taxation, Labor left itself wide open to Tory charges of "financial irresponsibility" in its welfare schemes.

Its proposals for further nationalization of industry were too small and lukewarm to suggest any genuine planned-economy trend; and indeed its past lukewarmness has made "nationalization" most unpopular by totally confusing the public as to the nature of socialism.

With an increased popular mandate for the Tories, which on its face endorses Suez and the Hola massacre, it is the colonial peoples who have the greatest reasons for sorrow and anger. At the Summit, Macmillan will no doubt do as well as Gaitskell would have done, possibly better; but the notion that a Britain tied to and occupied by the U.S. can be a significant influence for peace is clearly an illusion.

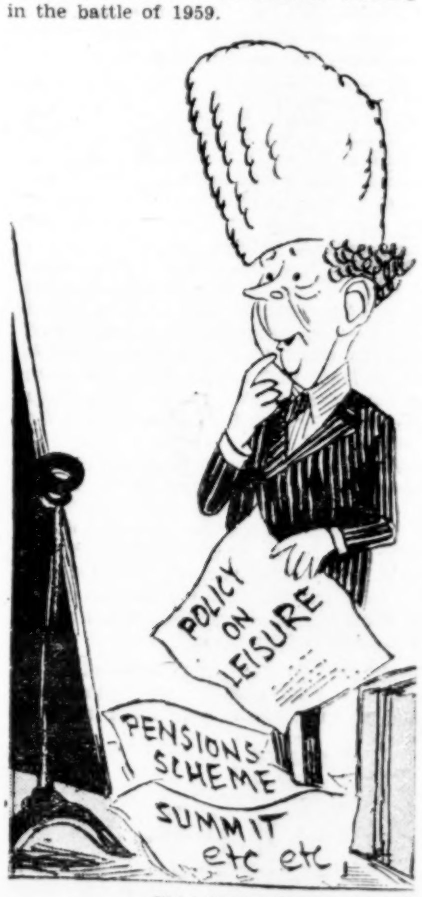
The 1959 election will linger in the mind as one in which dog-races, football pools, the Podola murder case, the unusual weather and Russia's móo-nik remained chief topics of conversation right up to polling day. "It is not thus," thundered the **Times** in its reproof of both parties, "cynical calculations, contemptuously displayed," "that a great people are summoned to yet another session in their endless appointment with history."

THE FATAL TRAIL: Aneurin Bevan, the once-great leader who bet all his ambition on an accommodation with Gaitskellism and lost, increased his fat majority. John Strachey, whose own books remain the most compelling exposure in English of the fallacies of Social Democracy, scraped back into Parliament by a whisker.

Gaitskell, now facing the wrathful post-mortems of his party, seems headed for oblivion with MacDonald and other predecessors who have led Britain's great Labor movement down a false and fatal trail. There will soon be none to remember the spectacle of this Winchester and Oxford product leading a chorus of "The Red Flag," in brave ripsoste to Tory hecklers, at an eve-of-election meeting in the battle of 1959.

Coming next week!

A 4-page supplement listing dozens of exciting Christmas gifts! You can do **all** your Christmas shopping with the Guaurdian Buying Service's big new Shopping Guide, with atractive and reasonably priced presents for every relative and friend. Jewelry, toys, imported microscopes, books, records, art, a smart transistor radio—these are only a few of the items we have in store for you. Don't begin your Christmas shopping until you read the Guardian Christmas Shopping Guide—it'll save you lots of tiresome tramping, and dollars, too!



Vicky, London Evening Standadr

The word is 'pool' in Russian

AND YET . . . it seems to me not at all unlikely that having seen the American Way in action, Mr. Khrushchev, far from being filled with envy by all the motor cars and drug stores, the rush and the glitter and the opulence, may have begun to think twice about the material progress which has, so far, been the common bond between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Russians do ño really want all those motor cars.

—Edward Crankshaw in the London **Observer**, Oct. 4

SURE, AMERICANS turn out more cars, [Mr. Khrushchev] told his audience in [Vladivostok], then added: "We want to use automobiles differently from the capitalist countries. There people say, 'This is a lousy car but at least it is my own.' We will use automobiles more rationally than the Americans do.

"We are going to establish taxi pools where people can use cars when they need them. Why should a man worry about parking space? Why should he take the trouble to bother with it?"

—**Max Frankel in the N.Y. Times, Oct. 9**

WHY THE WALTER-McCARRAN ACT MUST BE REPEALED

How a retired general militarized the Immigration Dept.

By Frank Bellamy
(Second of three articles)

OVERSEER of the foreign born in this country is a retired Army general whose first personal contact with foreigners came on a punitive expedition to Mexico in 1916.

Today he is conducting punitive expeditions against non-citizens, among them Mexicans, whose politics, activities or mere presence he doesn't like.

Born in Newark, Joseph M. Swing was with General John J. Pershing when he advanced into Mexico on a vain manhunt for Francisco (Pancho) Villa.

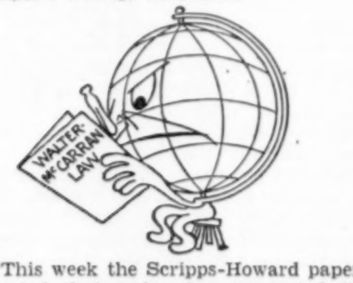
Until he took over as head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service 38 years later, Maj. Gen. Swing's familiarity with the problems of the foreign born was confined to what he picked up at odd moments while fighting there and in other foreign parts.

EARLY TROUBLE: Swing got into trouble soon after his old West Point classmate, President Eisenhower, appointed him Commissioner of Immigration in 1954. The mishaps of his early years in Washington were tersely summarized in an editorial in the Cleveland **Union Leader** (Aug. 3, 1956), which is cited in Louise Pettibone Smith's **Torch of Liberty:**

"First, some members of Congress, of both parties, charged that Swing, who seems to be an arrogant military character, was going around insulting career immigration officials as contemptuously as though they were army recruits.

"Then Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex.) aired the incident in which Swing used Immigration Service employes to obtain for his Washington home a low-wage maid from Mexico. Also, columnist Drew Pearson reported that Swing gave his daughter a fat government job in his Immigration office [actually the San Francisco office].

"Next, a House Committee scorchingly criticized Swing for using government airplanes, cars, trailers on hunting trips to Mexico and Canada, at the taxpayer's expense. Swing said these were 'goodwill' trips and the hunting was 'incidental.' That claim was called ridiculous by Congressman Robert H. Mollohan (D-W. Va.) who has been keeping his eyes on the General's strange activities.



"This week the Scripps-Howard papers reported that Swing has 'promoted the pilot of his personal government plane to a newly-created $10,320 post as District Immigration Director.'

"That may be all right, but Swing's record as a whole suggests Ike should take a hand and see whether his old classmate isn't too reckless with the public money and the public interest."

BUDDIES ON PAYROLL: Whether Eisenhower did "take a hand" is not known, but he certainly did not sour on Swing sufficiently to replace him. All available evidence, indeed, points to the conclusion that Swing's accomplishments as Commissioner so impressed the President that he decided to let him appoint two old Army cronies as Assistant Commissioners of Immigration.

Retired Maj. Gen. Frank H. Partridge and Brig. Gen. Edwin B. Howard joined forces with Swing in 1956, thus pretty much militarizing this civilian branch of government. Although these gentlemen, like Swing, hardly qualified by background or experience to deal humanely with the sensitive problems faced by foreign-born Americans, both had been serving as $50-a-day "consultants" since 1955.

MAJ. GEN. JOSEPH M. SWING
On a punitive expedition

Congress has been particularly kind to the three generals. It obligingly passed special legislation to enable all of them to take the Federal posts. And last year it raised Swing's salary from $17,500 to $20,000 (Partridge and Howard make $13,115 apiece).

Then, too, it gave the Immigration Service $55,500,000 for its work in fiscal 1959-60. That's only half as much as the FBI got, but fully 40% more than it costs to run the entire Federal Prison System.

GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT: Swing hadn't been in office more than a few months before he began what he still regards as his greatest single achievement in office. That was "Operation Wetback" (Operation Terror to its hapless victims): the wholesale arrest and deportation of Mexican-Americans on the claim that they were in this country illegally.

Under Swing's direct command, the operation began Gestapo-fashion in California with the raiding of private homes in search of Mexican immigrants. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born reported:

"As dawn broke on the morning of June 17 [1954], immigration agents swept down on the Mexican community in Los Angeles. Private homes were broken into, doors forced, and persons taken from their beds. Others were run down and captured by agents in fast automobiles on the public streets. Later that morning, immigrants and large numbers of workers were taken off their jobs.

"Similar raids were carried out in San Diego, San Francisco and elsewhere. Thousands of Mexican immigrants and their American citizen families—as well as many native born American citizens of Mexican descent—were deported without any hearings and without any opportunity to consult counsel or, in many cases, without any opportunity to secure wages owed to them by employers or gather what belongings they possessed."

Thousands of the deportees were taken to Mexico on a ship that did not meet the minimum standards of an 1882 law for bringing steerage passengers from Europe. Approximately 1,000,000 Mexicans were driven from the U.S. in one year.

'NOGOODNIKS': Swing's lack of respect for law and justice was advertised again —unintentionally this time—in 1958 in the kidnaping case of William Heikkila. Immigration agents whisked the San Francisco draftsman out of the country so precipitantly that he arrived in Finland in a sleet storm with 30 cents in his pockets and no overcoat.

Although Swing admitted that "an error of judgment" had been made in handling the case, he declared that people like Heikkila were "nogoodniks who can't be gotten out any other way," and vowed to deport him "if it takes from now until I get kicked out."

Nationwide indignation at the Gestapo-like tactics used in this case helped to slow up the deportation drive against progressive non-citizens. Popular revulsion did not, however, result in any legislation to change or void the Walter-McCarran Law, which authorizes and encourages the Immigration Service to deport as many progressives as it can and in nearly any manner it sees fit.

THE TREATMENT: The service's success in ejecting "subversives" has dwindled (only six political deportations last year versus 61 in 1954), but it still has many ways to make a progressive non-citizen's life miserable.

It can, and has, sent agents to a non-citizen's home to question him about his activities and associations, and to his place of work to put his employer on notice that his politics are questionable and he may be deported. Even if this preliminary investigation turns up nothing that can be used as the basis for deportation proceedings, the non-citizen may be recalled from time to time for additional questioning. His neighbors may shun him and he may be fired from his job.

Although drastic reforms have been made in the conduct of deportation hearings, they still have little in common with traditional due process. There are no rules of evidence. Hearsay testimony is acceptable. Until adverse criticism put a stop to it four years ago, the special inquiry officer who ran the hearing served as prosecutor as well as judge and jury. Now he's merely judge and jury.

THE INFORMERS: Another important, although incomplete, victory was won in the use of paid Justice Dept. informers. Professional witnesses were once in great demand to swear they knew a non-citizen as a Communist 20 or so years before. Then in 1956 the Immigration and Naturalization Service announced that henceforth it would severely limit the use of stoolpigeon evidence and secret information as the basis for deportation decisions.

The turnabout came too late, however, to save scores of victims already deported. And the possibility remains, since no legislation has been passed to outlaw stoolpigeon evidence, that Swing may change his mind at a later date and re-institute the old undemocratic procedures.

The same applies to Swing's announcement in 1955 that the service would henceforth stop the automatic arrest of aliens served with deportation notices. Since then the service has granted bail to forestall adverse publicity in some cases, but denied or cancelled it in others.

THE BELFRAGE CASE: The reform, such as it was, did not help GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage, who accepted deportation to England when bail for his release, pending a Supreme Court challenge of his deportation order, was denied. Belfrage had been held for three months in the Federal House of Detention on West Street, New York, in violation of the Justice Dept.'s order that "under no circumstances may alien detainees any longer be placed in jail."

Like most such promises, this pledge has continued to be violated periodically since 1955. Non-citizens with prison records often have been thrown in jail rather than "detained in appropriate places."

The average number of non-citizens held in detention now stands at 1,200, according to Immigration Service statistics. The excuse given is that many of them are ship jumpers who might jump bail if given the chance, and probably couldn't make bail in the first place.

SUPERVISORY PAROLE: If, after six months from the final order of deportation, a non-citizen cannot be deported (usually because he can find no country willing to give him asylum), he is placed under supervisory parole. Supervisory parole is designed to erect a personal concentration camp around the non-citizen for the rest of his life in the U.S. Failure to comply with any one of its provisions can result in a $1,000 fine or a one-year jail sentence, or both.

The Walter-McCarran Law provides that a person under supervisory parole:

- Must appear, if summoned, before an immigration officer for identification.
- Submit, if deemed necessary, to medical and psychiatric examination.
- Give information under oath as to his "circumstances, habits, associations, and such other information, whether or not related to the foregoing, as the Attorney General may deem fit and proper."
- Conform to "such reasonable written restrictions on his conduct or activities as are prescribed."

SHADOW OF FEAR: Among the restrictions imposed on non-citizens has been the requirement to give the Immigration Service 48 hours' advance notice of intention to travel. Seven non-citizens who objected to this restriction won their case before the U.S. Court of Appeals this summer.

Other decisions of the Supreme Court, notably the Witkovich and Sentner decisions of 1957, have pulled the claws of the supervisory parole provisions by determining that the subject may be required only to keep himself available for deportation, and need not submit to interrogation as to activities or associations.

Although these and other court decisions have severely limited the Immigration Service's powers of intimidation, they have not completely erased the shadow of fear hanging over supervisory parolees. Many probably feel it is still safest to drop out of every organization, progressive or otherwise, down to and even including their unions.

IMMIGRA
XECUTIVE
OFFICES

HE WAS DENIED BAIL
Belfrage and counsel Blanch Freedman

This is the ultimate aim of the thought-control Walter-McCarran Act: to make thought so unsafe for the foreign born, that eventually there will be no thought left to control.

NEXT WEEK: The need for repeal.

DEBUNKING SOME WIDELY-HELD MYTHS

10 years of the German Democratic Republic

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

MANY THINGS in Mr. K's farewell speech in America raised British eyebrows in skepticism; but all of it was food for the thought that a new era is beginning, and that illusions based on ideological obstinacy are a luxury none can longer afford.

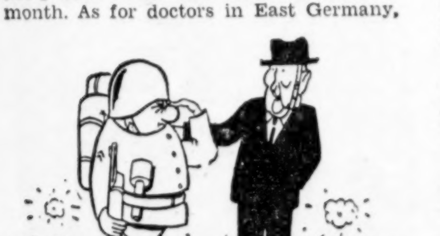
The illusions that will perhaps be toughest to get rid of, especially in the U.S., are those concerning the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). In building up the notion that West Germany is to East as paradise is to a slum, free-world propaganda has been exceptionally successful. Yet already the realization is slowly spreading here that, when Mr. K speaks of the need for "a peace treaty with both German states, neither of which wants to change its regime," he is telling us the simple truth.

East Germany has opened its doors wide to visitors this year, and the visitors have said remarkable things about it on their return. It started with two right-wing Labor MP's—the Right Hon. Emanuel Shinwell, former defense minister, and his former parliamentary secy. Col. George Wigg—reporting as follows on the Berlin radio last May:

- "The approach to a socialist system of society is very impressive indeed."
- Of the East Germany army: "We could see anything we wished to see" and were "very impressed" by training and discipline and "the friendly relations between officers, NCOs and men . . . There was no trace of the old military tradition and we were convinced it was organized on a defensive basis."
- All army ranks, and the ordinary people, "directed attention to the [Nazi] atrocities . . . and were determined to prevent them happening again . . . Everybody wanted peace."
- On "restriction of personal liberty," of which "there is an impression in other countries . . . we saw no sign of it, [and] we were allowed to speak to anybody we wished."

UNIONIST REPORTS: Last week Harry Knight, leader of the Supervisory Staffs, Executives & Technicians Union, returned from East Germany and told the GUARDIAN:

- Butter consumption in Dresden is the highest in the world. (In the country as a whole, both butter and sugar consumption exceed West Germany's.) "I wandered by mistake into the wrong trade union meeting and found the speaker exhorting members not to eat so so much."
- Leaving aside doctors and certain skilled technicians who are offered astronomical rewards in the West, "more West Germans are now moving to the East than Easterners to the West." Last May East Germany reported a scramming rate from the West of 6,000 a month. As for doctors in East Germany, "12% of them have opted out of the National Health Service and practice privately. There is less pressure on doctors to join NHS than in Britain."



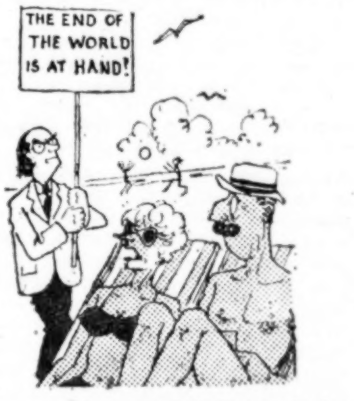
Taler, Frankfurt

Adenauer: "That's good, my boy. I worry about the danger from the east, and you are protecting us against it."

LONDON EXHIBITION. In preparation for their 10th anniversary, the East Germans put on a high-gear campaign to get such facts across in Britain. An exhibition showing their progress in all fields has opened in London and will tour the country; London has also special exhibitions of East German textiles and books (five volumes per head of population are being published annually.)

On the cultural front, East German musicians have participated in our Handel celebration and Edinburgh and Welsh Eisteddfod festivals, Berlin's top radio symphony orchestra is now here for concerts, and performances of East German films and Brecht plays have made a strong impression. Economic ties with Britain are being forged following last year's trade agreement, and the Leipzig fair, an index to East Germany's trade expansion, drew exhibitors from 49 countries this year compared with 13 in 1950.

According to Harry Knight, "the whole Western world is due for a shock when it wakes up to the German Democratic Republic's progress in the past year." The London exhibition stresses that what is now emerging is built on the "ruins and misery" of what was a predominantly agricultural area in pre-war Germany. Today over 75% of agricultural work is mechanized; 275 villages practice wholly cooperative farming, producing 30% more crops than private farmers.


THE END OF THE WORLD IS AT HAND!

Lancaster, Daily Express, London

"I do hope somebody has remembered to **clear it with Dr. Adenauer first."**

PRODUCTION WAY UP: Since 1950 the optical and camera industry has grown over 100%, metal production 330%; production of textiles, furniture (up 600%), refrigerators (up 1,400%) and TV sets (284,000 this year, none in 1950) is booming. Power exceeds the total generated in Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland and Finland combined in 1957.

East Germany claims world leadership in soft coal production (up 75% since 1950), and second place in chemical industry volume per head of population. A pipeline from the U.S.S.R. will soon supply 4,800,000 tons of oil yearly for further development of plastics and synthetic fiber production.

An atomic reactor has been operating since 1957 and the first atomic power station will start supplying electricity next year. With no shipping line ten years ago, East Germany now builds freighters up to 10,000 tons and has ships plying to nine countries. Diplomatically, Premier Grotewohl's recent visits to Cairo, Baghdad and New Delhi indicate how East Germany is beginning to climb out of its isolation from the non-socialist world.

OTHER GAINS: National income has doubled since 1950, the people bought 20% more food and 20-43% more clothing in 1959's first quarter than in 1958's, and over 25% of the budget is allocated to health and social services. The government claims to be spending more than twice as much as West Germany on professional and technical schools, universities, theater and movies and sports.

A two-week vacation in a trade union resort costs the average earnings for 13 hours' work. In the area of religion so earnestly used for Western propaganda against socialist countries, East Germany claims 29 freely-functioning denominations, four religious publishing houses, theological faculties at six universities, and 58 Protestant, 36 Catholic hospitals. Over 1,800 war-destroyed churches and cathedrals are said to have been rebuilt with government aid.

A DAY AT THE FAIR

A little German girl in Leipzig

With some sort of accommodation between East and West Germany now apparently on the horizon, the GDR points to the fact that its government and parliament have made over 100 "proposals and conciliatory suggestions" to the Federal Republic. Its most frequent proposal has been mutual limitations of armed forces and renunciation of atomic weapons.

TO REMIND THE WORLD OF THE EXTREME EVIL AND FOLLY

Vigil in the Sahara: Newest protest against the Bomb

LONDON

WITH ROAD-MAPS of West Africa spread over your correspondent's sitting-room floor, two blond, rugger-playing young Englishmen talked to the GUARDIAN about the latest anti-nuclear crusade. Francis Hoyland, 29, artist and art-school teacher, and Michael Randle, 25-year-old son of a Sussex farmer, were to fly to Accra Oct. 8 on the first leg of a protest demonstration against France's impending bomb test in the Sahara. In Accra they were to be joined later by Rev. Michael Scott, South and West African peoples' spokesman flying in from the United Nations, N.Y., and two women crusaders, Esther Peters (27, French) and Hemlata Devi (40, Indian). Both the women are mothers and have been active in the World Citizens movement.

Object of the exercise is to "discourage" personnel at the French testing ground near Reggan, South Algeria, and "if unsuccessful" in this, "by running the risk of injury or death to remind the world of the extreme evil and folly of testing nuclear weapons."

The sponsoring Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons (344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N. 4) is still far short of the $8,500 necessary for the team's equipment and transport across 2,000 miles, mostly through the desert. A fund appeal, which several British papers published, has been issued by Lord Boyd Orr, Bertrand Russell, Dr. Donald Soper and others. DAC sponsors also include leading U.S. pacifists.

You can send National Guardian to a friend for 3 months for only $1. Sub. Dept., 197 E. 4th St., N. Y. C. 9

Canard, Paris

LONG ACTIVE: One American and two or three Africans are expected to complete the team. During the waiting period in Accra, the two British members will be busy showing to Ghanaian audiences films of the fishermen fallout victims in Japan and of the Aldermaston protest marches.

King-sized Hoyland has now recovered from his eye injury sustained at an Essex rocket-base demonstration earlier this year: he was blinded for two days after his DAC group was rolled in wet cement by base personnel. The son of a well-known Quaker leader, he is a Church of England pacifist and father of children aged 5 and 3. Of the rocket-base incident he says: "We were rather roughed up when we kept sitting down in front of their trucks, and I had abrasions all over my legs and arms, but the commanding officer rather decently drove me to the hospital."

Randle, unmarried and a member of the Brighton rugger team, was a volunteer in 1957 for the picketing expedition to the British nuclear tests on Christmas Island, which was stopped by the Japanese government. Since then he has been full-time chairman of the DAC, which has over 2,000 British supporters. He spent two weeks in jail "reading and darning socks" after a second demonstration at the Essex rocket-base, from which he and his colleagues were "carried off quite genteelly."

OPEN LETTER: Said Randle: "We really don't know if we'll get as far as Reggan, but our route is all charted out as you see. We'll apply for French visas in Accra, but if we don't get them we'll try to bypass the border checkpoints. We aim to cross from Ghana into Haute Volta—it's French territory from there on—across the Niger river up and through the Hoggar foothills into the stony Tanezrouft desert of Algeria. We sent an open letter to de Gaulle to expect us in November, and we'll have a leaflet in French, and perhaps in one or two African languages, to explain what it's all about as we go along. In any case we'll be in touch with the outside world by radio transmitter."

Except for Rev. Scott, none of the anti-nuclear team has ever been in Africa before. They are assured of a cordial welcome in Ghana, whose Premier Nkrumah has protested strongly to Paris about the danger to his people from radioactive Saharan sands blown southward. Similar protests have been made by Nigeria and other West African countries.

—Cedric Belfrage

STATE DEPT.'S POSITION STILL FROZEN

Next step to end cold war: Recognize China

By Kumar Goshal

IN THE KHRUSHCHEV - Eisenhower dialogue Washington tacitly admitted that the cold war against Moscow had failed and that a hot war was unthinkable. Therefore, only a discussion between equals could initiate a relaxation of tensions.

The logical conclusion should have been that Far East tensions created by similar U.S. tactics against Peking could be resolved only in the same manner. But Washington stood logic on its head. Incredible as it may seem, the State Dept., aided by the press, seemed determined to repeat the agonizing process in U.S.-China relations—and in the bargain to provoke the Soviet Union.

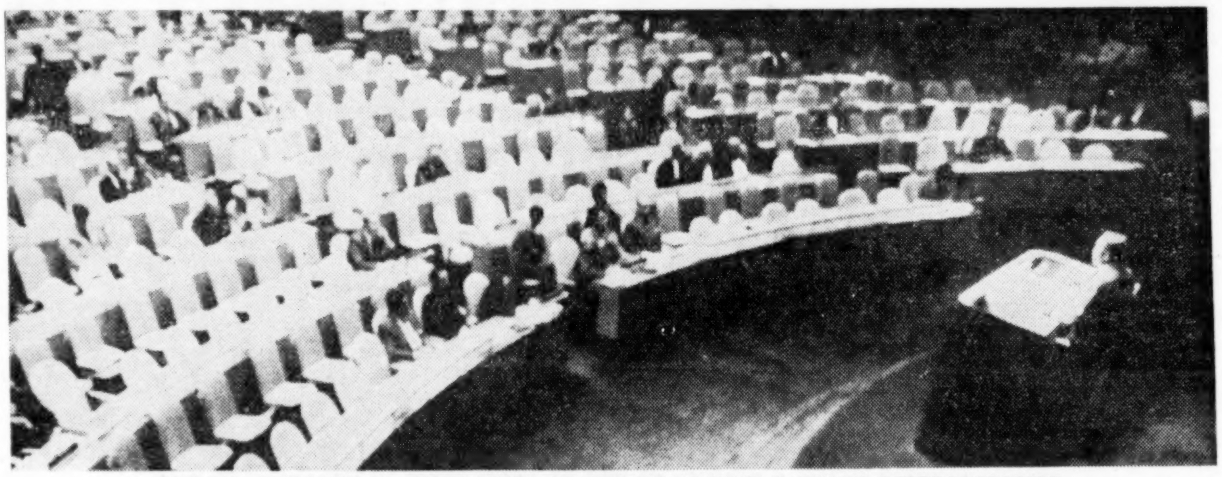
Douglas Dillon, U.S. Under Secy. of State, spoke at a meeting of the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry Oct. 7 in terms made stale by constant repetition and untenable by history. He accused Peking of "ruthlessly" extinguishing "the last vestiges of freedom in Tibet," of attacking Laos, and of violating the Indian border. He warned that "an attempt [by Peking] to seize Taiwan and the offshore islands is . . . likely to embroil the world community in total war" and that "the men in the Kremlin must share responsibility for Peking's actions."

UNMENTIONED FACTS: Secy. Herter at a press conference Oct. 6 also said the U.S. would hold Moscow "to a degree" responsible for Peking's actions.

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (Oct. 1) editorially declared: "There is no more actively aggressive nation in the world today than Red China." Next day it said: "Khrushchev must be aware that the world will not be really peaceful, that the cold war cannot be ended . . . while Red China runs amok in Asia." **Newsweek** (Oct. 12) called China "the major threat to peace." Other papers dragged in Korea and Indo-China.

Not mentioned by U.S. officials and the press are the following facts:

- The Korean war was a civil war; China intervened only when it felt its border was threatened by U.S. forces and after giving an explicit warning—which was ignored—through the Indian ambassador.
- The Indo-China war was against French imperialism; China, in fact, helped bring about a truce at the 1954 Geneva conference.
- The conflict in Laos was precipitated by U.S. interference and an attempt to turn Laos against China, as has been documented by a House Government Operations subcommittee. A UN commission now in Laos has not found any trace of Chinese or North Vietnamese involvement in this conflict.
- Peking, Chiang Kai-shek, India and others agree that Tibet is a part of China. A modern, industrialized, socialist China-in-the-making could no more suffer a feudal enclave in Tibet than the U.S., in the process of industrialization in the last century, could harbor a feudal South based on slave labor.



NOT MANY STAYED IN THEIR SEATS AT THE UN TO HEAR TAIWAN'S REPRESENTATIVE
Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang addresses the UN General Assembly in New York on Sept. 29

DISPUTED AREAS: The story of the India-China border dispute has never been fairly told by the U.S. press.

China has never accepted the somewhat vague McMahon line drawn by Britain when it ruled India. New Delhi, which inherited the McMahon line from the British and accepted it, has protested Peking's inclusion in recent Chinese maps of land claimed by India.

The Chinese have referred to earlier Indian and British maps which place within China sections India now claims; they point to the Oxford Advanced Atlas (fifth edition, 1936), which seems to correspond to Peking's maps (London **New Statesman**, Sept. 19).

The border dispute has been aggravated by two things: (1) the granting by New Delhi of political asylum to the Dalai Lama; (2) the use by Indian reactionaries of the Dalai's presence to provoke an India-China conflict. Peking, in its anger, apparently has been reckless in charging without discrimination that all Indian leaders, including Premier Nehru, have aggressive intentions.

New Delhi, however, seemed to have been less agitated than Washington by the border conflicts. Nehru sent greetings to the Chinese People's Republic on its tenth anniversary. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai replied that, "viewed from a long historical tradition," present difficulties between India and China "are merely an episode in our age-old friendship." He added:

"I reciprocate your excellency's hope and conviction that through the joint efforts of both parties the friendship of Chinese people and Indian people will undoubtedly grow continuously in the coming years."

THE MAJOR ISSUES: It is generally agreed that issues vitally affecting the world cannot be resolved without China's participation. These include nuclear test suspension; halting of nuclear weapons manufacture; general disarmament and peaceful solution of international conflicts; planned economic development of underdeveloped countries, and wide medical, scientific and cultural exchange.

State Dept. officials, in fact, were reported (N.Y. **Times**, Oct. 8) to have said that "the Chinese Communists cannot be an exception to the agreement to negotiation" reached by President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev at Camp David. But they seemed to be acting in the belief that the decade-long U.S. policy of maintaining Chiang as the ruler of China and of building military pressure around the Chinese mainland would yet bring about the downfall of the Peking regime. The **Times** reported (Sept. 30): "No change in U.S. policy toward China is contemplated."

Hence the U.S. attempt to turn Laos into another Korea, the hullabaloo over Tibet and the synthetic sympathy for India over border conflicts, the effort to revive the moribund Baghdad Pact by renaming it CENTO (Central Treaty Organization). Hence also the maneuvers to keep Peking out of the UN, although India itself has urged transfer of China's seat from Chiang to Peking.

CROCODILE TEARS: The ultimate hypocrisy has been Washington's concern for the alleged suffering of the Chinese people through "regimentation" and "forced labor."

Observers with varying political beliefs have found on visiting China that "regimentation" was in fact the willing mobilization of the Chinese people to wage a disciplined and vigorous war against poverty, disease, feudal bondage and illiteracy—just as they wage war against an epidemic of cholera or small pox. The nearly 700,000,000 Chinese have been making a mighty, concerted effort not because they fear the U.S. but because in ten years they have reaped miraculous harvests from their efforts. The London **Times** said in an editorial (Oct. 1), "To those who recall the misery of the past the change is enormous."

THE NEW PHENOMENON: China's industrialization has proceeded — with Soviet aid—despite the Western ban on trade. Peking's Finance Minister said recently that China has financed its economic development largely from its own resources and that foreign loans have made up only 2% of the country's total revenue.

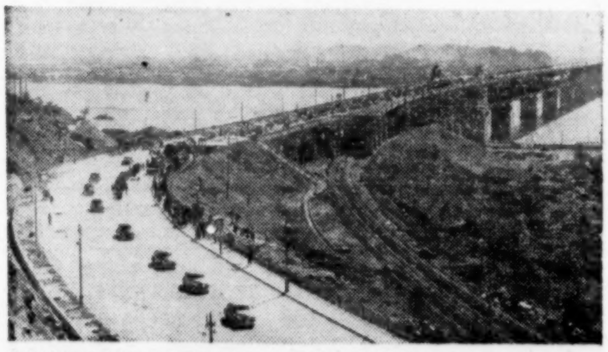
The London **Times** urged the world to note "the new phenomenon of Chinese power" and said "it is ludicrous that this great country should be kept out of the UN."

Interference at its birth, ostracism by the world for a long period and two world wars did not halt socialist progress in the Soviet Union. Similar efforts will fail in China. This realization would be the beginning of wisdom for the U.S.

How Russians work in backward lands

ONE REASON why Mr. Khrushchev wants to see more competition between East and West is probably that he is quite satisfied with the first stage of that contest in some of the underdeveloped countries.

Russia has some advantages in this field. Central direction of her economy is one; recent experience of industrialization under very exacting conditions is another. When India wants, say, a steelworks capable of producing a million tons a year, Russian engineers are likely to have constructed something like it in a district not previously industrialized several times before in recent years. They simply need to adapt existing plans and do not have to start from scratch.



A BRIDGE IN CHINA BUILT WITH SOVIET TECHNICAL AID

They also seem more conscious than Western people of the political importance to be attached to the human relationship formed abroad by the engineers and technicians they send to the underdeveloped countries. In the minds of the foreign workers whom they advise or control, these men create the image of the nation they represent.

Experience at home has taught the Russians to be more patient and tolerant of backwardness and inefficiency than are Western engineers. "Brotherly help" need not always be a mere phrase; it often is quite a convincing attitude. Being accustomed to simpler conditions of life, Russians will also fit more easily into their new environment.

These different approaches are well illustrated by a Swiss observer's report on Germans and Russians in India, recently published in **Der Monat**. Both of them are putting up steelworks there, the Germans in Rourkela, the Russians in Bhilai. (The British are responsible for an even bigger one at Durgapur, also using some German contractors.)

Neither of them live in particularly attractive surroundings. The Germans—about 1,600 of them—are irritated beyond endurance by what they consider Indian inefficiency; they shout; they show their contempt; they prefer to do all important jobs themselves. The Russians—only 700—stick to their advisory role. Indian engineers and workers carry out most of the work— and therefore learn much more. And the Russians never shout at them.

The Germans have their own clubhouse, hospital, swimming bath to which Indians are not normally admitted; in fact, they live rather like the British used to live before them. The Russians have none of this. A representative of Big Brother is watching them, but they have no political meetings (the Indian Government politely asked them to refrain) and they do not seem to miss them particularly. With the Indians they have established an easy relationship. Ther wives do their own cooking and shopping, so they are not troubled, as the Germans are, by pilfering servants.

As economic aid increases in scope, similar conditions are likely to be repeated elsewhere. Many of these differences may, indeed, be unavoidable. To some extent, at least, they may be the inevitable result of different backgrounds. But they also show that the provision of aid is not wholly an economic question.

—London **Times**, Sept. 24, 1959

FOR ELEANOR ROOSEVELT AT 75

Woman of the world

MY SWEET little girl.
what will you be when you grow **up?**
President's lady pouring tea,
finger politely held in curl,
poising a gold-handled cup?

I sing of the arms of a woman
at ease in the First Lady's chair;
at ease in the plainest chair.

Ungainly maiden with too-long arms,
with arms so eager reaching
wide to the world at every stage
embracing to widowed age.

Pale-skinned, unpetite, with a voice too shrill,
with a smile pitched deep and true;
with a light handclasp strong with faith
as those of major hue.

OH ALL THAT GOLD can lullaby,
gold was his cradle, golden the croon,
he was his mother's goldenest tune;
and every mother longs
to keep the home song forever.

The lad grew golden, the lad grew clever,
emboldened into life
and instead of a rosepose curl of a girl,
he chose a young woman for wife.

And wife a daughter-in-law became.
And the twain shall meet, though it take great skill:
a measure of art, and a clash of will.
While motherhood adds another part
to the morrow bestirring of salt and sweet
where the overall taste is sweet
as the years go fleet as days
smooth-keeled on their even ways.

Oh see the world of the navy
uniform neat-creased, gold-buttoned and braided;
and island summers remote from care,
the family tawny and racing as gulls
swoop into the shaded cove of love

till suddenly night in the midst of dazzling noonbright.
Now prone the racing horizon. Stone the flight of wings.
Rise up and walk! plead to the tear-blinded sky.
Lie down and rest, croons the old golden lullaby . . .
Arms grope, beseeching reach in prideless pride.
Come, stand up by my side!

THE TEARS TURNED DRY flow as tears,
as the days go by as years
crawling and falling and stumbling
with the iron brace of courage, the iron brace of pain.

Who could have shrunk in fear, stretched to the tallest
man.
Who could have lain to rest in the soft down cushion
of darkness,
became a mountaineer;
climbed into the heights of night and crossed over into
the harsh unpitying light, into the radiance of light.

And keeping pace by his side,
long and strong and most feminine her stride.
Eleanor blue and an Eleanor rose,
and Eleanor caricatured by those
who claim woman's place tall at man's side
but for the moment of altar bride:
then turnback, veildown, sweep out of the way
backstair, upstair, prop her away . . .

Now widowed walks,
and though all days are touched by gray without his
blue-sky laughter;
womanly walks,
and if slowed down at times or stooped a bit by age,
the movement is forward.

Politely but firmly refuses to lie back and sigh unhappy
ever after;
finds life, erect, has far more to offer.
So strong goes striding along on her way,
the world's weather better for her walking every day.

—Eve Merriam

BOOKS

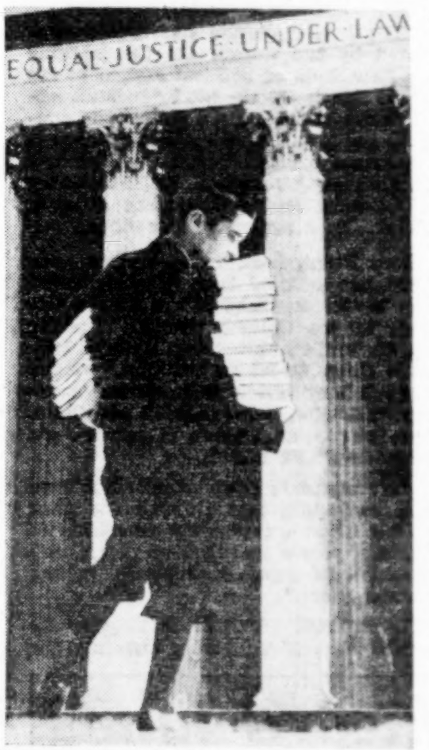
The Court, the people

IDEALLY the Supreme Court exists to guarantee to the people the protection of the Constitution, and to safeguard its precepts from violation by Congress or the lower courts. Irreverent leftists, populists, iconoclasts, democrats and others have held that the Court was set up rather to protect property from the unpropertied.

Indeed the Constitution and the amendments making up the Bill of Rights had hardly been ratified before President John Adams announced the dictum that "property is surely a right of mankind as really as liberty . . . The moment the idea is admitted into society, that property is not as sacred as the laws of God, and that there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence." One of the hymns of the Church which guided Adams' thought set forth the Christian precept that "The rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate,/God made them rich and lowly, each to his own estate."

The book of Prof. Carl Brent Swisher of Johns Hopkins University, **The Supreme Court in Modern Role,*** published this year but based on a series of lectures given in 1957, seems buoyed up by the hope that the Court's modern role may not be so geared to property rights and may assume positions from which it may not recede on matters of civil liberties, race segregation, labor etc.

DOOLEY'S AXIOM: Yet even lecturing in 1957, when the Court was at high tide in its rollback of the assault on civil rights and liberties, Prof. Swisher could plot no future course for the Court short of the observation that it "must rely increasingly on its estimate of the dominant and settled sentiments of current times rather than on history or textual exegesis for its source of constitutional meaning."



THE SUPREME COURT
And a burdened court page

This is a professorial way of saying what newspaperdom's mythical Mr. Dooley said some 60 years ago, when the Court ruled against the Constitution applying to Puerto Rico, one of the spoils of McKinley's conquests in the Spanish-American war. Shorn of the brogue in which the original was written, Mr. Dooley said: 'The Constitution may not follow the flag, but sure the Supreme Court follows the election returns."

If you do not seek pat conclusions about the Court's future, Prof. Swisher's book is satisfying reading largely because his heroes are very likely the same as yours in the modern Court—Murphy, Rutledge, Black, Douglas—and his attention is largely focused on the struggle for liberties and rights for people rather than property. Yet more and more as one reads through this book, the realization is compelled that the quality of the men on the Court (there has never been a woman, of course) and the integrity of their judgments depend almost directly on what public opinion requires of the men it places in public life.

THE PEOPLE'S ROLE: A second realization one must arrive at is that the public does not know its own strength in influencing the Court, and at any rate, for this or other reasons, does not avail itself of this power of influence. On this point Holmes said 60 years ago: "We do not realize how large a part of our law is open to reconsideration upon a slight change in the habit of the public mind. No concrete proposition is self-evident, no matter how ready we may be to accept it . . ."

Prof. Swisher himself, searching for an apt figure to illustrate the public's relation to the Court, falls back on the lines from Longfellow's **Hiawatha** which describes woman's relationship to man:

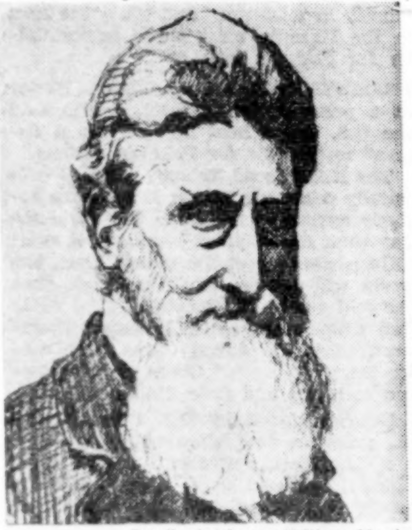
> As unto the bow the cord is,
> So unto the man is woman,
> Though she bends him she obeys him,
> Though she draws him, yet she follows,
> Useless each without the other.

With a reactionary Congress unstringing the bow, the Court becomes useless indeed for the people's needs. A useful Court requires the people's active participation. This is a big "how to" of our immediate future.

—John T. McManus

**THE SUPREME COURT IN MODERN ROLE, by Carl Brent Swisher, New York University Press, Washington Square, New York 3. 214 pp. $4.95.*

Body and soul



Pencil sketch by William Morris Sutler from an 1859 photograph.

HE CAME OUT OF KANSAS, old Osawatomie Brown. He gathered a band of men who hated slavery more than they loved life. They struck on a rainy Sunday night, Oct. 16, 100 years ago. Now, to celebrate the centenary, the raid was to be simulated at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., Oct. 16, 17 and 18. The watching nation might well recall the words of W.E.B. DuBois who, 50 years ago, gathered at the same site with the men of the Niagara Movement and declared: "We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob, but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free."

BOOKS

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The Puerto Ricans

(Continued from Page 1)

work. With each group—except one—as unskilled laborers became skilled craftsmen, clerical workers, foremen, managers, professionals and owners, the need to subject the recent arrivals to abuse and defamation abated. Further, each group has used the ballot to help secure its newly-won economic positions.

John Cruz, 17, bows his head despondently in a New York City police station. He was charged with killing a 15-year-old girl during a fight between Negro and Puerto Rican youth gangs.

LOW MAN: The exception is the Negro. Though some Negroes have been part of New York's population since its earliest days, the first large-scale migration accompanied and followed World War I. With new additions resulting from the World War II exodus from the South, New York's Negro population has reached more than 1,000,000.

The legacy of slavery and the badge of color have prevented the Negro from rising off the economic floor in the city's economy. He is still, with the Puerto Rican, the most cruelly exploited worker of all. He has a poorer chance than any other to escape the predatory boss, the biased union official, the landlord and the loan shark. More migration has meant for him the extension of the boundaries of the segregated slums and the intensification of their blight. This condition has persisted through war, depression and prosperity, and war, depression and prosperity again, so that the Negro stands in danger of becoming the first ethnically-labeled group of permanent poor in the city.

But even this reservoir of low-paid labor is not enough to feed New York's vast complex of finance, manufacture, commerce and service industries. What had been a trickle of Puerto Rican migration prior to World War II became a flood with the war's end. Between 1950 and 1953 the Puerto Rican population of New York City rose from 245,880 to 455,000. Today it stands at 650,000.

FOR THE HARD CHORES: When Judge Liebowitz recommended that this flow of migration be cut off, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) reminded him of the Puerto Ricans' role in the city's economy. "We should not discourage them from coming," he said. "We need them for the hard chores and rough work. If they don't come, most of our hotels, restaurants and laundries would close. We need immigration."

When the Puerto Ricans arrive they have little choice of work. Just as there have always been "white jobs" and "Negro jobs" in the city, so now there are "Puerto Rican" jobs: the menial ones other workers consider themselves too good for. The men go to work at the tasks Congressman Celler described; most of the women find employment in unorganized sweatshops in the garment industry.

Efforts of Puerto Rican workers to better their conditions are often thwarted by labor racketeers who "organize" them, take their dues, and connive with the bosses for a fee. One of the outstanding features of the unprecedented strike—called by an honest union—of seven New York voluntary hospitals last May was that the majority of the workers involved were Puerto Ricans and Negroes. Many of them took home pay envelopes with as little as $28 and $34 for a week's work at the hospitals' unskilled chores.

'EL BARRIO': The Puerto Ricans have as little choice in housing as in jobs. The first densely populated Puerto Rican community in East Harlem ("el barrio") remains the largest, but in recent years it has been joined by similar communities on Manhattan's Upper West Side and Lower East Side, in the Bronx and Brooklyn. There, in dilapidated buildings that other low-income groups have abandoned, the migrants become the easy prey of the landlords.

A common practice of property owners in these neighborhoods is to convert one-family brownstone dwellings and old-law tenements into room-rental buildings. Many families of from four to seven members, therefore, are forced to pay as much as $100 a month for single rooms, equipped with a hot-plate for cooking and a hall toilet shared by another five families of similar size.

Outside "el barrio" the Puerto Rican often meets rebuff, deceit and derision. Inside his community he has begun to develop a network of new institutions which seek to accomplish two main objectives: (1) to preserve and adapt to a new setting the rich island culture with its merged elements of Hispanic, African and Indian antecedents, and (2) to gain equality in the economic, political, social and cultural life of the larger city.

LUST FOR LIFE: One of the distinguishing features of the Puerto Rican community is its vigor. Life beats strong on the streets as tenants—especially in summer—take to the stoops, sidewalks, cafes and bars to escape the intolerable tenements. Gaiety and a lust for life break through the pall of poverty.

Not population density alone, however, explains why the Puerto Ricans attempt an active, not passive, adjustment to their new environment. In age-range the Puerto Ricans are considerably younger than the rest of the city's population. While the median age for the city in 1953 was estimated at 35, among Puerto Ricans it was 20. More than three-fourths of Puerto Rican New Yorkers of continental birth are under 15 years of age, and children predominate among the new migrants.

As a result, the axiom that the future belongs to the youth is especially applicable to the Puerto Rican community. The youngsters' activities, hopes, dreams, frustrations and drives largely set the tone of Puerto Rican life in New York. And it is they, with their idealism, zeal and abundant energy, who are most shabbily treated in their new surroundings.

DIFFERENT REACTIONS: They strike back in many ways; most of them in added determination to excel and push forward; a few in sulking resentment which may lead to the self-destruction of dope and vice; fewer still in retaliatory or aggressive crimes of violence.

When such crimes occur, some newspapers may be depended on to whip up a Puerto Rican "crime wave" and create sentiment for cracking skulls.

The facts, however, show that Puerto Ricans are not responsible for a larger proportion of New York's City's crimes than their numbers would lead one to expect. Where their proportion of certain types of youth offenses seems to exceed the city average it is to be remembered that the proportion of youth to the total Puerto Rican community is unusually high.

Further, juvenile delinquency among Puerto Ricans is a strictly "made in America" product. Until recently it was unknown on the island. Now that some youths have returned there with New York gang habits the island suffers a delinquency rate of two youths per 1,000. In Manhattan the rate is 50 per 1,000; in East Harlem, 75 per 1,000.

FAULTY STATISTICS: But even the best mainland delinquency statistics are suspect. Experts have difficulty agreeing what types of offenses the term should cover; dragnet arrests on suspicion and the indictment of bands of youths for single crimes inflate the figures; offenses that might bring a reprimand for a middle-class youth in a suburban community become the cause for jailing of the slum-bred youngster.

Yet, though the figures may be faulty, there is undoubtedly too much criminal behavior, among Puerto Rican youth, Negro youth and all youth. But the social causes are not hard to locate for those who sincerely want to find a solution.

Poverty? Yes, but not poverty alone. For a study shows that there was less juvenile delinquency during the depression years of the Thirties than during the more prosperous Forties. But gnawing poverty in the midst of a showy display of wealth? That comes closer to it. Add to this the $60,000,000 worth of war, crime and horror comics sold every month, the glorification of brutality on TV, the disruption of hopes for normal living occasioned by the peace-time draft, the coming of age in a hostile world. It is not to be wondered that some youths find it difficult to understand that cruelty is wrong or to shun the brutality of certain acts of violence. It is not strange that some see violence as the only solution to personal and group problems which they feel intensely but often understand only dimly or not at all.

SOCIAL ROOTS: This, of course, is not a full statement of the case. But it is an approach to the main social roots of delinquency, especially among minority youth. Some youths, of course, suffer psychiatric disturbances which lead to crime. They require sympathetic treatment and assistance.

But studies have shown that delinquency among the great majority of Puerto Rican and Negro youth who get into trouble is culturally (that is, socially) determined. To suggest that such anti-social behavior can be cured by night sticks, curfews, penalizing parents and building more jails is nonsense. Such means suit the needs of employers who want Puerto Rican and Negro youth to grow up as a submissive, manageable, exploitable labor surplus. They ought to be actively opposed by progressives who want to build a multi-racial city of friendly, secure and happy people.

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Strike injunctions

(Continued from Page 1)

ton to set T-H machinery in motion. He might have considered it unseemly to act during his vacation because he was the house guest of George E. Allen, a director of the Republic Steel Corp.

On Oct. 9 Mr. Eisenhower said he could wait no longer for a settlement and set up a fact-finding board in the steel strike. He gave it one week to report.

Under the law the President must set up a board of inquiry as a first step and set a time limit for its report. If the board finds the "national health and safety" endangered by the strike, the President can instruct the Attorney General to seek a court injunction. The order sends the strikers back to work for an 80-day "cooling off" period. At the end of 60 days the fact-finding board must present a new report to the President including management's last offer. Within the next 15 days the Nat'l. Labor Relations Board must conduct a secret vote among the strikers on the employer's last offer. If the strikers reject the offer, they may resume the strike when the 80 days are up. In the past, strikers have always voted against the employer's offer.

HIGH STAKES: It seemed unlikely that the hot issues in either dispute would be "cooled off" in 80 days. At stake in steel and on the docks is the extent of management's right to set local work rules and to introduce labor-saving machines.

Mechanization and automation have been specters to longshoremen for some time. But the threat became real when at contract negotiations last month New York Shipping Assn. officials told Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. leaders that they wanted to introduce automatic loading equipment and increase the use of cargo containers. The shippers acknowledged a desire to "provide some protection for any loss of job opportunity," but they said they wanted to introduce the machines first and argue with the union about them later. The union insisted on a clear-cut understanding before the machines are put in use.

The union also asked for a 40c-an-hour wage increase over a three-year period, increased vacations and holidays, higher pensions and more liberal welfare and health benefits. Management offered a 30c-an-hour package to be spread over three years and to cover wage, vacation and pension improvements.

THE TRIGGER: Negotiations were at an impasse on Sept. 30 when the contract expired but the union agreed to keep the longshoremen on the job until Oct. 15, provided that a new agreement would be retroactive. But in the Gulf ports, shippers would not agree to retroactivity and on Oct. 1 and 2 dock workers in Mobile, Ala., and Baton Rouge and New Orleans, La., walked off the job. In New York ILA president Capt. William V. Bradley pledged full support for the strikers and called out longshoremen in the Atlantic Ports.

THE NAME IS KATHERINE

ON OCT. 4 in San Francisco a daughter was born to Harry and Nikki Bridges, shown holding the baby. Pop is head of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union of the West Coast. Katherine's vital statistics: 7 pounds, 2 oz. Bridges will be guest of honor at the GUARDIAN's Eleventh Anniversary Dinner in New York on Wednesday, Nov. 11. Invitation went to Katherine too, but she declined graciously: She's on a restricted diet.

The Gulf shippers held that the New York Shipping Assn. did not represent them and therefore they were not bound by agreements made in New York. But Bradley pointed out that although shipping associations are different "corporate entities" in different ports, in reality the same people run the companies from Maine to Texas. Also, contracts with the New York Shipping Assn. which cover ports from Maine to Virginia, have always set the pattern for agreements in the Gulf ports.

ILWU PRECEDENT: After the walkout the shippers broke off talks. Management spokesman Alexander P. Chopin said there was no need to talk, "they'll be back under Taft-Hartley in a couple of days anyway." Due to White House speed they were back the next day.

A strong card in ILA's hand is the precedent-setting contract negotiated last summer by West Coast longshoremen. Also faced with automation on the docks, the independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union signed a three-year contract with the Pacific Maritime Assn. which established a $1,500,000 employer-financed mechanization fund to be distributed to dock workers in recognition of increased productivity. In addition, the contract guaranteed that longshoremen presently at work would not lose their jobs because of the introduction of new machines. The contract also called for wage, welfare and vacation increases, and a guarantee that men called to a job would be given eight hours work and an official coffee break.

THE BIG TEST: In steel the battle was a basic test of strength. Girded by record profits, the companies were carrying the ball for Big Industry. They decided that this was the year to weaken, if not break, labor's voice in setting local work rules. They reasoned that the steel workers, weakened by the 1958 "recession" lay offs, would not be in fighting trim.

Prior to negotiations word went out to steel users to expect a long strike. And through the spring and early summer the mills rolled out steel at capacity rates for the stockpiles of those who knew the mills would close later.

At the bargaining table the companies presented union negotiators with an eight-point program to give management control of setting the size of work crews, shifting workers to other jobs, replacing men with machines, punishing "wildcat" strikers and other working conditions which would have meant wholesale elimination of jobs. Also, the companies said that to "fight inflation" they could grant no wage increases and the steel workers would have to give up a cost-of-living escalator clause. From this position management said it would not budge.

STOCKPILES RUN OUT: With no other offer to consider, the AFL-CIO United Steel Workers called out its 500,000 members in mid-July. Negotiations continued in vain through the summer. Meanwhile the companies' customers continued operations at a brisk pace bolstered by as much as a four-month stockpile of steel.

President Eisenhower held throughout that a "free society" meant no government intervention in labor-management disputes. All he asked for, he said, was a "non-inflationary" settlement. Despite private appeals by union president David J. McDonald to Vice President Nixon and Labor Secy. Mitchell for a Federal fact-finding board, the White House remained aloof.

But by the end of September, Eisenhower seemed to realize it was time the mills re-opened. Stockpiles were running low and some industries had begun furloughing employes. General Motors laid off 7,000 and said more would follow. A survey by the Institute of Appliance Manufacturers indicated that 11 companies would have to shut down by Oct. 15 because of steel shortages and 15 others would close two weeks later. The Caterpillar Tractor Co. sent home 25% of its work force.

BELATED OFFER: On Sept. 30, just before he left for Palm Springs, Mr. Eisenhower summoned top management and union leaders to the White House and told them he was "sick and tired" of the strike and that he hoped they would reach agreement before he returned from vacation eight days later.

Negotiations resumed and management presented a new offer. It called for a two-year contract. During the first year steel workers would get no wage increase but the companies would make higher contributions for pensions, social insurance and supplemental unemployment benefits. In the second year workers would get pay rises ranging from 6 cents to 12 cents an hour. But the benefits were contingent on union acceptance of a clause permitting the companies to eliminate established work practices that "impede plant efficiency or economy." The offer also eliminated the cost-of-living escalator which has brought the workers 17 cents an hour in increases in the last three years.

QUICK REFUSAL: The union promptly rejected the offer. McDonald pointed out that the proposal actually meant a cut in take-home pay for the first year because the workers would have to pay half the cost of hospitalization and welfare insurance. He said the total package added up to a payroll increase of 1.14%, far less than in contracts signed this year in other industries.

On the picket line the strikers were firm. In the past few years they had seen 100,000 jobs eliminated by machines. They felt that management's talk of "rationalizing the production process" meant fewer men and more machines in the mills.

PRESSURE IS ON: Time was now on their side. In addition to pressure from their customers for steel, the companies were faced with a severe iron ore shortage next spring if ore boats did not start moving material down the Great Lakes before the winter freeze.

When Mr. Eisenhower invoked Taft-Hartley he gave the companies a breather, but few thought it would solve the issues. It seemed likely that the steel workers would be on the picket line again in 80 days. And the results of their fight would have an effect on all who work for a living.

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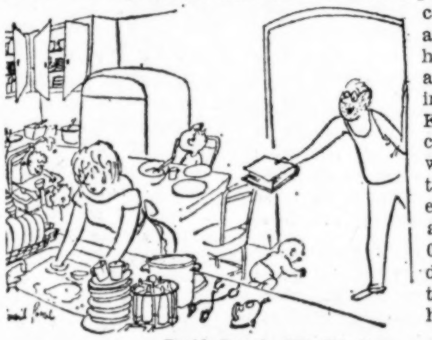
THE GALLERY

ON ELECTION EVE in London, Lord Hailsham, chairman of the Conservative Party, announced at a press conference: "My false teeth have bust. They just gave way under unusual strain." He said it would not halt his campaigning because "I can now lisp as well as some of our greatest men." . . . Strontium-free milk will be served at a reception for Dr. Linus Pauling at New York's Carnegie Hall, Sunday evening, Oct. 25, sponsored by the Natl. Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. The milk will be purified by a process discovered recently by Canadian scientists. A public meeting will follow during which Dr. Pauling will speak on "Fallout—Today's Seven-Year Plague." . . . Speaking of the viability of the American economy, Prof. Irwin Corey points out that "although freight car loadings are down .07%, whiskey sales are up .13%. Which proves that more people are getting loaded than freight cars." . . . The Natl. Labor Relations Board in San Francisco is studying one of its most baffling cases. It must decide whether a machine shop was within bounds in firing a man because a brightly-colored nude tattooed on his arm might embarrass female employes. Company officials said they would re-hire the machinist if he tattooed a "brassiere and panties" on the nude.



David Pascal, AFL-CIO News

"Jenny, when you have a little time I'd like you to read this Theory of the Leisure Class."

THE AIR FORCE in 1957 began work on the base near Kenosha, Wisc. For two years the work went at a brisk pace; land was cleared, concrete for runway aprons was poured, a heating plant erected and fuel storage tanks installed. Residents of Kenosha and Racine counties looked forward to a boom when the base was completed. But this month, after spending $15,000,000, the Air Force decided it didn't need the base after all and halted work.

"I'm flabbergasted," said William Beyer, chairman of the Racine County Board. "Farmers have been displaced from homesteads their families occupied for generations," he added.

George Schlitz, chairman of the Kenosha County Board, pointed out that in clearing land for the base, top soil had been stripped away. "Good farm land is ruined," he said.

County officials are desperate. They have already spent money for surveyors and architects for new roads, a new sanitary system and a new school. Taxpayers are not likely to hold still for additional levies.

Sam Rizzo, administrative assistant to Rep. Gerald T. Flynn, who represents the district, summed up: "We think it is just terrible."

THE LONDON TIMES REPORTS: "Mr. Noble Rollin, of the World Bird Research Station, Glanton, Northumberland, led a party of ten ornithologists to the Canary Islands, where they set up seven observation posts to observe the behavior of birds during the eclipse of the sun. Mr. Rollin reported that the eclipse was total for a minute and three-quarters, and it silenced the chaffinch for 23 minutes altogether from before until after totality. The blue tit was silent for 17 minutes, the blackbird for ten, the wild canary four, and the chiffchaff three. There were flocks of canaries 'rushing about in excitement'. . . . The robins were not silent. They are in full song at this time of year and as the eclipse was, in Mr. Rollin's words, 'rather light,' they were apparently unaffected by it. So were the cocks; they crowed before and after it." . . . Awaiting approval of Taiwan's provincial assembly is a bill which would require houses of prostitution to identify themselves by green lights rather than the red ones they use now. On the island red lights mark Nationalist Chinese police stations and it seems this led to some confusion.

—**Robert E. Light**

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Waldo Frank appeals against passport denial

IN A PETITION presented to the Supreme Court on Sept. 30, Waldo Frank, scholar and author, has asked for a review of a lower court denial of his request for an order requiring Secy. of State Herter to issue him a passport valid for travel to China.

Frank's request was initially turned down by the U.S. District Court. This judgment was affirmed by the U.S. Court of Appeals last July 6. The case will probably be heard by the Supreme Court at the same time as that of William Worthy, newspaper reporter whose passport was taken away because he went to China without State Dept. authorization.

Frank is represented by Leonard B. Boudin.

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E 175—THEODORE BIKEL: Bravo Bikel (Town Hall Concert)

V 9037—PAUL ROBESON: Paul Robeson Sings

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Piccadilly purified

LONDON

PROSTITUTION, AS THE WHOLE WORLD KNOWS, is not the most honorable of professions, but is one of the oldest. In London it has thrived most openly around Soho and Piccadilly. Eros, the little god of love, in the center of Piccadilly has pointed his arrow derisively for many years at the buyers and sellers of what passes for love in these parts. The buyers, had he had eyes to see, would always have looked pathetic to him, but the ladies, young and not so young, who offered their wares, one feels would have been regarded by him with a certain cynical benevolence.

But now, gaze though he might, he will see only the restless crowd of provincials up for the holidays, the mommas and poppas and G.I.'s from the United States, the tourists from Germany, France, Sweden—the world—swimming round him like fish in a bowl or, to change the simile, settling like flies on the steps of his statue. Piccadilly still has its bright lights, St. James' Park its green grass and shaded trees, Soho its delicatessen shops and barrows piled high with golden oranges and purple grapes, its fancy restaurants and its wine as cheap and good as any in France if you know where to look for it, but—the girls are missing.

PICCADILLY'S EROS
The girls are missing

IT IS ONLY A FEW WEEKS ago that the British parliament, bowed down by the problems that beset it—full employment, housing, education and of course the H-bomb and the possibility of mankind being annihilated, took time off to pass a bill long pressed for, which enables to police to arrest on sight a woman found soliciting, or loitering with apparent intent to solicit. From midnight of the day the bill was passed not a prostitute dare linger in any of her former haunts.

Even the innocent housewife in Soho and Piccadilly (and there are innocent housewives in these areas) must now, they feel, do their shopping quickly and with the minimum of window-gazing. As a matter of fact, there have already been cases of suburban girl friends meeting boy friends at Leicester Square (always a favorite meeting place for lovers) whose 'hallo dear' has brought a policeman hot on their trail and, in a recently reported case, two such girls were actually arrested and taken off to the local police station and only after violent arguments and explanations by the boys friends were they released.

BUT THIS LAW, right or wrong, has been passed and it is amazing how much one misses seeing these girls who, I suppose, should never have been there in the first place. Whatever emotions the sight of them aroused, cynicism, benevolence, outrage, the fact that they've gone has altered Soho and its environs and made it just another place to go for a meal. The figure in the doorway, in the shadows and on the bright-lit corner of the crowded streets was part of the pattern of London's life and now the pattern has been broken up.

To regret this would be very bad form, as the English say, if not downright immoral if the alternative to this clearing the girls off the streets meant a pure new life for all concerned. For of course prostitution is bad, as anything that is a substitute for what is normal is bad. In its implications of the deep unhappiness and frustration of all those concerned in it, it shatters the complacency that all is well with our Society.

But of course this new law has not created or suggested an alternative that is a moral one. And one senses behind the closed doors of Soho flats and Piccadilly night clubs a seething mass of planning and reorganization that would put the Trades Union Congress to shame. In the meantime, the girls are getting less fresh air and the young, rosy cheeked policemen who stroll in pairs around the bright lights and through the back streets look strangely lost.

—Diana Purcell

Pamphlet on Rapier is first of a series

IN THE FIRST of a series of historical pamphlets published by Southern Newsletter, editor Eugene Feldman tells the little-known story of James T. Rapier, Reconstruction Negro Congressman from Alabama. In addition to serving in Congress, Rapier was a pioneer labor organizer, defender of civil rights and editor.

Attractively illustrated by Margaret T. Burroughs and Mallory Pearce, the pamphlet sells for 25c and may be obtained from Southern Newsletter, P.O. Box 1307, Louisville 1, Ky.